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LETTERS

OF

THE KINGS OF ENGLAND.

Engraved by H. Robinson.

KING CHARLES THE FIRST.

OB. 1648.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OF VANDYKE, IN THE COLLECTION OF

THE RIGHT HON^BLE THE EARL OF PEMBROKE.

LETTERS

OF THE

KINGS OF ENGLAND,

NOW FIRST COLLECTED

From the Originals

14576

IN ROYAL ARCHIVES, AND FROM OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES,

PRIVATE AS WELL AS PUBLIC.

EDITED,

WITH AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION AND NOTES,

BY

JAMES ORCHARD HALLIWELL, ESQ., F.R.S.,

HON. M.R.I.A., HON. M.R.S.L., F.S.A., ETC.

FC 284/72

"Nothing is so capable of giving a true account of History as *Letters* are; which describe *actions* while they are *alive* and *breathing*, whereas all *other relations* are of actions *past* and *dead*."—DEAN SWIFT.

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LETTERS

OF

THE KINGS OF ENGLAND.

Prince Edward to his Father. [1]

May 22nd, 1543.

In the same manner as, most bounteous king, at the dawn of day, we acknowledge the return of the sun to our world, although, by the intervention of obscure clouds, we cannot behold manifestly with our eyes that resplendent orb; in like manner your majesty's extraordinary and almost incredible goodness so shines and beams forth, that although present I cannot behold it, though before me, with my outward eyes; yet never can it escape from my heart. For I consider that your highness's boundless goodness shines not less than the brilliancy of the sun, and that the eyes of men are not

[1] Cotton. MSS. Vespas. F. xiii. No. 221. Translated from the Latin. This is a wretched and miserable specimen of fulsome flattery, and does but little credit to the honesty of Edward, or his tutors. Cardan styles the prince "a most extraordinary young man;" and his *soothing* talents are undoubtedly displayed to full advantage at a very tender age.

more captivated by the sun's brightness, than the ears of all are soothed and comforted by that most illustrious fame of your excellence. Therefore, as often as I recal my mind to that unbounded goodness of yours towards a little manikin like myself, and as often as I inwardly reflect upon my various duties and obligations, my mind shudders—yea, it shudders, so that while shuddering, it also leaps with a marvellous delight: your majesty and the sweetest open-heartedness together carry me away. Hence it is ever before my eyes, the idea that I am worthy to be tortured with stripes of ignominy, if through negligence I should omit even the smallest particle of my duty; for the very consciousness of such a crime would perpetually rend my soul, and would torture me beyond measure, and especially if now I did not run to meet the opportunity so very convenient for performing my duty. And on this account the mere rumour which had been spread among us, of the coming of Master Cheek, gave me the utmost delight; and my mind, long since alive and ready to writing these letters, was driven by force to it, if force that may be called, which proceeds from one's own will. Moreover, certain other helps or rather incitements there are to the remembrance of my duty, which proceed from that source so renowned and celebrated by the tongues of all, I mean, from your serene highness; when I see contained within the limits of your godlike mind all those eminent qualities which by constant reading I learn from the records of our forefathers were attributed to princes. For, from your earliest age even to the present time, that admirable goodness of yours, as if

you had it from nature, has grown with you in proportion to your age, and that it may grow old with you is among my most ardent wishes. For, in the same way as the alchemists have, out of four elements, long vainly endeavoured to extract a fifth I know not what, essence, the most perfect of all; so what they by no study or art have ever been able to effect, God the parent of all seems easily to have produced to us something similar to this quintessence; if there be any excellence in man's nature to serve and preserve his fellow-men. For neither does your singular lenity grant impunity to wicked men, nor does your severity withhold the hearts of innocent men from admiring you. Wherefore, that encomium which Cicero claimed to himself as his own peculiar right, methinks may be justly transferred from Cicero to your majesty; for Cicero, fired with an over-zeal for honour, arrogated more than the truth admitted of, for he affirmed that Nature had stamped upon himself the very character of lenity, and that his country on him that of severity, and rightly too in my judgment: for he teaches that the man who hath once transgressed the bounds of modesty ought well and absolutely to be called a shameless person. But, on the contrary, your majesty's moderation, which is approved by all to an astonishing degree, draws to itself this its due praise.

But, while I am meditating thus with myself, I cannot set bounds to my joy. I congratulate thee, O Britain! for I now perceive that is now come to pass which I have often heard quoted from Plato *De Republica;*[1] who

[1] *De reipublicæ felicitate* is the title of the book.

teaches that that, after all, is the happiest government in which the kings are philosophers or the philosophers are kings. But our happiness I never can sufficiently admire, over whom bears sway the most philosophic of kings and the most kingly of philosophers.

But now I will not detain your majesty by these trifles of mine from more grave matters. Wherefore of the great and good God I ask, that He take into His protection your majesty.

Your majesty's very humble servant,

EDWARD P.

At Cambridge, the 22nd of May.

Prince Edward to Queen Catharine Parr.[1]

Most honourable and entirely beloved mother, I have me most humbly recommended unto your grace with like thanks, both for that your grace did accept so gently my simple and rude letters, and also that it pleased your grace so gently to vouchsafe to direct unto me your loving and tender letters, which do give me much comfort and encouragement to go forward in such things wherein your grace beareth me on hand,[2] that I am already entered. I pray God I may be able in part to satisfy the good expectation of the king's majesty, my father, and of your grace, whom God have ever in his most blessed keeping.

Your loving son, E. PRINCE.

[1] MS. Cotton. Nero. C. x., fol. 4. The interest which Queen Catherine took in the education of this young and precocious prince, and the kindness she evinced towards him, occasioned the filial style and address of Edward's letters to her. He almost invariably addresses her as his "beloved mother."

[2] *Beareth me on hand*, i. e. persuades me.

Prince Edward to his sister Mary.[1]

It is so long since I last wrote to you, my very dear sister, that it may chance so that you may think I have entirely forgotten you, but affection ever holds the chief place in my heart both for you and my dearest mother. I hope soon to see you, and so tell you in truth how much and how greatly I esteem you.

From Hunsdon, this 11th of January.

EDWARD P.

Edward VI. (when Prince of Wales) to Richard Coxe, his Almoner.[2]

I send to you a short letter, my dearest almoner, because I know short letters are to you as acceptable as long ones. For I am well aware that you have read in Cato's first book, 20th verse: "*When a poor friend gives you a little present, accept it kindly, and remember to praise it amply.*"

[1] Rawlinson MSS. Translated from the Latin. Edward was born in the month of October, 1537. He was therefore scarcely nine years old when this and the subsequent letters were written, a fact which attaches considerable interest to them as most remarkable specimens of youthful talent in so exalted a position. It has been suggested that the prince received special assistance in most of these compositions. He most probably, indeed, in those which involve much argument or discussion, availed himself of the services of the learned men constantly about his person; but I believe few persons will rise from a perusal of these brief and simple notes without feeling entirely satisfied with their absolute genuineness.

[2] MS. Harl. 5087, f. 1. From the Latin.

Though my letter is short, yet it wanteth not good will. I pray God to preserve you safe and in health!

At Hartford, 11th March, 1545.

EDWARD THE PRINCE.

Prince Edward to Richard Coxe.[1]

I give you thanks for the letter, which you have written to me. This I ought to do, when I perceive in it such love, good will, and civility. Your love is great; and your good will free and generous, because you write to me, when you have matters more important on hand; and your civility is welcome, for nothing can come from you, that is not welcome. But, when you write that you are more obliged to me than to the other lads here; yet, however, negligent they may have been, I have only done my duty; because it is my duty to write to you. Moreover, I beg you to take in good part this my letter; for I should wish you to take it in good part, because it has been done by my own judgment and labour entirely.

May God grant you the wisdom of Aaron and of Samuel. Farewell, my most loving and kind preceptor.

At Hartford, 2nd April, 1546.

Your most loving scholar,

EDWARD THE PRINCE.

Prince Edward to Richard Coxe.

As my duty demands, I write to you, my dearest almoner, that you may be assured I am mindful of you.

[1] MS. Harl. 5087, f. 2. From the Latin.

[2] MS. Harl. 5087, f. 3. From the Latin.

For, if I did not write to you, it were a sign I was forgetting you; but now that I write, it is a proof that I love and remember you. And, as he who writes to an individual, cannot but remember him, because he writes his name on the superscription; so, when I write to you, I cannot forget you, because I write your name on my heart.

Further, I am informed that a letter is as delightful to you as hunting and fowling are to others. Indeed, letters are better than treasures of gold and silver; and he that possesseth a letter, possesses the greatest treasure. It is said by Cicero in his *Paradoxes*—"*That the wise man alone is rich;*" and to him letters are riches.

I pray you salute the king's secretary, and return him thanks for the little sand-box. Now farewell, my almoner, the best, the most accomplished, most kind! May God never suffer your foot to be turned from the right path!

At Hartford, 9th April, 1546.

Your most loving pupil,

E. PRINCE.

Prince Edward to his sister Mary.[1]

Although I do not frequently write to you, my dearest sister, yet I would not have you suppose me to be ungrateful and forgetful of you. For I love you quite as well as if I had sent letters to you more frequently, and I like you even as a brother ought to like a very dear

[1] Harl. MSS., 5087. From the Latin.

sister, who hath within herself all the embellishments of virtue and honourable station. For, in the same manner as I put on my best garments very seldom, yet these I like better than others; even so I write to you very rarely, yet I love you most. Moreover, I am glad that you have got well; for I have heard that you had been sick; and this I do from the brotherly love which I owe you, and from my good will towards you. I wish you uninterrupted health both of body and mind. Farewell in Christ, dearest sister.

EDWARD THE PRINCE.

At Hunsdon, 8th of May.

Prince Edward to Queen Catharine.[1]

Pardon my rude style in writing to you, most illustrious queen and beloved mother, and receive my hearty thanks for your loving kindness to me and my sister. Yet, dearest mother, the only true consolation is from Heaven, and the only real love is the love of God. Preserve therefore, I pray you, my dear sister Mary, from all the wiles and enchantments of the evil one; and beseech her to attend no longer to foreign dances and

[1] Rawlinson MSS. From the Latin. It would be difficult to ascertain with certainty the exact occurrence to which this note refers. Mary seems to have been more gay than usual; but that she was given to dancing appears from a ballad in MS. Ashmole 176:—

"I saw a king and a princess
Dancing before my face;
Most like a god and a goddess!
I pray Christ save their grace."

merriments which do not become a most Christian princess. And so, putting my trust in God for you to take this exhortation in good part, I commend you to his most gracious keeping.

From Hunsdon, this 12th of May.

EDWARD THE PRINCE.

Edward, the Prince, to the most illustrious Queen, his mother.[1]

Perhaps you will be surprised that I so often write to you, and that in so short a time, most noble queen and most dear mother; but by the same rule you may be surprised that I do my duty towards you. However, this I am now doing more willingly, because I have got a suitable messenger, my servant; and therefore I could not help sending a letter to you, in order to testify my respect and affection.

Fare thee well, most noble queen.

At Hunsdon, 24th of May.

Your most obsequious son,

EDWARD THE PRINCE.

Prince Edward to his Father, Henry VIII.[2]

Not any letter have I sent to you this long time, O king most illustrious and most noble father! It is not that I

[1] MS. Cott. Vespas. E. iii. Art. 40, and MS. Harl. 5087. Translated from the Latin original.

[2] MS. Harl. 5087, f. 3. From the Latin.

have been at all neglectful of you; but, considering that your majesty is disturbed by the concerns of war,[1] I thought I should further disturb you by these boyish letters of mine. And therefore I had some scruple whether I should write to you or not. But now reflecting that, as any labourer after his daily toil desires to refresh his spirit, so I hope, since your majesty has had trouble and fatigue for a long space, that this letter will rather refresh than disturb your mind. For, seeing you are a loving and kind father to me, and as I hope I shall prove to you a most dutiful son, I therefore judge your benevolent heart will take in good part this letter, though of itself unworthy.

Moreover, I pray you to bestow on me your blessing; and I wish you a happy issue in all your affairs. Farewell, most noble father and most illustrious king!

At Hunsdon, 2nd June, 1546.

EDWARD THE PRINCE.

Prince Edward to Richard Coxe.[2]

Ever since Fouler went away, my dearest almoner, I have not sent an epistle to you, because I knew no one would be going to you from that time to this. If I have not studied elegant words and phrases, and well-turned sentences, I hope my negligence in this point will find excuse: for I have done my best. If I should be slug-

[1] The prince here alludes to the war with France, which was concluded a few days after the date of this note, and a peace declared.

[2] MS. Harl. 5087, f. 5. From the Latin.

gish in my efforts, the ants would be better than I;[1] for ants do toil, and I should be a sluggard. And, what the Hebrew sage hath said, methinks agrees with this my remark: "*The hand of the sluggard maketh poor; but of the diligent, maketh rich.*"[2] I thank you also for telling me of my fault; for they are my friends who point out to me my errors.

May the God everlasting and the cheerer[3] of all, give you joy, and keep you in safety and health! and increase your wisdom, and give you grace; that after this life you may live again in Christ in his everlasting kingdom. Farewell, dearest preceptor.

At Hunsdon, 3rd June, 1546.

Prince Edward to the King's Majesty.[4]

Most noble king and most illustrious father,

I wish you a peace with the enemy for two reasons: both, because I should hope to visit you sooner, and because you would have a rest and recreation. On the other hand, if you continued the war, you would have no rest, but would be in torment and trouble.[5]

[1] Alluding, perhaps, to the text—"Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways, and be wise."

[2] See Proverbs, chapter xiii. verse 4.

[3] *Exhilarator omnium.* MS. orig.

[4] MS. Harl. 5087. From the Latin.

[5] This letter was written about the time that Henry had concluded his expensive war by consenting to a treaty of peace with Francis. On the announcement of peace, there was a grand exhibition of the valuable ornaments of the Church in a public procession at London, the last time of such a display, the king shortly afterwards taking them into his own possession.

However, I should like to see you, for I am anxious to be assured that you are safe and well; for, though I have some reliance on the hearing of the ear, yet I have more confidence in my own eyes. And I should heartily wish your majesty to take a respite, since it would not only be a source of rejoicing to your subjects, but especially to myself. For, as war brings on noise and tumult, so does peace usher in tranquillity. Noise and riot is an evil; therefore war is an evil. Rest is a blessing; therefore peace is a blessing. Perhaps too, what Periander the Corinthian says, may serve to this my argument—"*Rest is a good thing, or a blessing.*" I wish to you the best things; therefore I wish you peace. Further, I pray God that you may rejoice and be safe and sound in this life, and after this pilgrimage, may you live with Christ in Paradise!

Most heartily farewell, O king most illustrious and father most revered!

At Hunsdon, 10th June, 1546.

EDWARD, PRINCE.

Prince Edward to Queen Catharine.

Although all your letters are sweet to me, yet these last were pleasing beyond the rest, most noble queen and most kind mother; for which I return you exceeding thanks. But truly by these I perceive that you have given your attention to the Roman characters, so that my preceptor could not be persuaded but that your se-

[1] MS. Harl. 5087, from the Latin.

cretary wrote them, till he observed your name written equally well. I also was much surprised. I hear too, that your highness is progressing in the Latin tongue and in the *Belles Lettres*. Wherefore I feel no little joy, for letters are lasting; but other things that seem so perish. Literature also conduces to virtuous conduct, but ignorance thereof leads to vice. And, just as the sun is the light of the world, so is learning the light of the mind. Every thing that comes from God, is good; learning comes from God, therefore learning is good.

A certain one[1] hath also said, "*what you see, you shall not long see*;" signifying, that riches and the other goods of this life will perish.

I pray the power celestial that he keep your highness in safety. At Hunsdon, 10th of June, 1546.

Prince Edward to Richard Coxe.[2]

I write to you, dearest preceptor, not only because it is my duty, but likewise because it exercises my hand, and cultivates my understanding, and trims up my Latin style; for if I were to indite nothing, I should not be prepared for speaking Latin, and my intellect would wax torpid. The mind and intellect, wherein we rational beings differ from the beasts, if not exercised in composing and devising letters for a long time, will become

[1] Ludovicus Vives, according to a note in the MS. He was a learned Spaniard, and was requested by Queen Catharine to draw up a code of instructions for the education of the Princess Mary.

[2] MS. Harl. 5087, f. 5. From the Latin.

inapt and sluggish, when you wish to do so [1]; and, perhaps, what Erasmus in his dialogues writeth corresponds with this of mine: "*idleness I shun like a plague.*" For from idleness springs every evil. Wherefore I would not that my intellect languish through idleness and dwindle from listlessness. However, I will write to you more fully, when I shall have more leisure.

Most loving preceptor, farewell.

At Hunsdon, 28th June, 1546.

Prince Edward to the King. [2]

Most noble king and most revered father, I thank you that you have deigned to send to me Philip your servant, who is both eminent in music and a gentleman. For you have sent him to me, that I may be more expert in striking the lute; herein your love appeareth to be very great. Moreover, it hath brought some degree of joy to my mind, in that I have heard that I am to visit your majesty; for nature inclines me very much to this. Since this is true, I now obtain my second wish. My first wish was, that you and your kingdom might have peace; and secondly, that I might see you. These done, I shall be happy. Farewell, most noble king and father most illustrious! and I pray you bestow your blessing on me.

At Hunsdon, 4th July, 1546.

EDWARD THE PRINCE.

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[1] The young prince's Latinity is here not *very* happy or correct: "*Res* enim quare sumus *viri*, qua a belluis *differrimus*, est mens et ingenium."

[2] MS. Harl. 5087, f. 7. From the Latin.

Prince Edward to the King's Majesty. [1]

To you, O king most noble and father most honoured, I owe exceeding thanks; because you have treated me so kindly, like a most loving father, and one who would wish me always to act rightly. I also thank you that you have given me great and costly gifts, as chains, rings, jewelled buttons, neck-chains, and breast-pins, and necklaces, garments, and very many other things; in which things and gifts is conspicuous your fatherly affection towards me; for, if you did not love me, you would not give me these fine gifts of jewellery.

However, you grant me all these, not that I should be proud, and think too much of myself, and fancy I excel others; but that you might urge me to the pursuit of all true virtue and piety, and adorn and finish me with all the accomplishments which are fitting a prince: in short, that I might feel as great love towards you, as you have towards me; which if I did not, I should be ungrateful indeed. For God commandeth me to love my enemy, and how much more to love my father, who brought me into this world.

Farewell, most noble king and reverend father, and I pray God to keep you.

4th August, 1546.

EDWARD THE PRINCE.

Prince Edward to Queen Catherine. [2]

Most noble queen and most illustrious mother, I give

[1] MS. Harl. 5087, from the Latin. [2] MS. Harl. 5087, from the Latin.

you uncommon thanks, that you behaved to me so kindly, when I was with you at Westminster. This gentle behaviour doth put my love to the test, although I cannot love you better. Therefore, to me it seems an age since I saw you. Therefore I would entreat your highness to pardon me, that I have not, this long time, written a letter to you. I did indeed wish it, but daily I have been expecting to be with your highness. But, when F—— went away, I had scarcely time for writing to the king's majesty.

Further, I entreat your highness to let me know, whether the Lord-High Admiral,[1] who is coming from France, understands Latin well; for, if he does, I should wish to learn further what I may say to him, when I shall come to meet him.

I pray God to guard you, and give you learning and virtue, the safest riches.

12th August, 1546.

Prince Edward to Richard Coxe.[2]

To me it hath been a very great grief, dearest almoner, that I have heard you were sick this last night. However, you must ever remember the saying of holy Job; who, when his wife said, "*Curse God and die*," answered, "Thou talkest like a foolish woman; shalt thou receive good from God, and not evil?" And what Paul writeth to the Hebrews seems to me to coincide

[1] Præfectus maris, MS. orig.

[2] MS. Harl. 5087, f. 8. From the Latin.

with this: "My son, despise not the chastening of the Lord, nor faint when thou art rebuked by Him; for whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth." Because I think that you remember many such passages, I need not write more. However, I pray God that you may get well.

At Hatfield, 20th August, 1546.

EDWARD THE PRINCE.

Prince Edward to his sister Mary.[1]

My love towards you, and brotherly feeling and nature too, induced me to write to you, dearest sister; and this love can no way be erased from my mind.[2] And, even if thou wert not my sister, I yet must love thee, and indite letters to you, for your eminent virtue. For virtue is the loadstone of love, and shall never perish; but all other quickly come to nought.[3] Wherefore, I must think about thee often, though absent; and sometimes, when I have opportunity and leisure, indite letters to thee, which I beg you to take kindly. I pray

[1] MS. Harl. 5087, f. 9. From the Latin.

[2] Some word, such as *tempus*, is here omitted in the original document.

[3] A very sedate sentiment, truly, for a schoolboy. Some imaginative persons might now call to mind an eloquent and touching passage in Shakespeare, speaking of the uncertainty of worldly affection:—

"Swift as a shadow, short as any dream;
Brief as the lightning in the collied night,
That, in a spleen, unfolds both heaven and earth,
And ere a man hath power to say,—behold!
The jaws of darkness do devour it up:
So quick bright things come to confusion."

God to defend you against all evils, and that he be your shield. Farewell, dearest sister.

26th September, 1546.

EDWARD THE PRINCE.

Prince Edward to Richard Coxe. [1]

I felt infinite joy, when I heard that you had recovered, dearest preceptor; for you instruct me in literature, when you are with me. Wherefore you are deserving of my love, and I ought to rejoice at your good health. However, if I did not love you, I should be most ungrateful, since you teach me that which will profit me very much. For instruction and literature are the greatest riches; so, on the contrary, vice and ignorance are the worst of all evils. And as the desire of the eyes maketh the body dark, so also ignorance and vice maketh the mind dark. And, as the eye is the light of the body, so is instruction the light of the understanding. Wherefore, as you teach me what is useful for so many purposes, I must needs love you, and rejoice at the recovery of your health. Do, then, take diligent care of your health, that you may soon return to me; for I greatly desire to see you. My dearest almoner, farewell.

At Hatfield, 7th September, 1546.

EDWARD THE PRINCE.

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[1] MS. Harl. 5087, f. 8. From the Latin.

Edward, Prince of Wales, to Henry VIII.[1]

My letters have ever one subject, O most noble king and most illustrious father, that is, in all my epistles I am returning thanks to you for your very great kindness towards me. And if I were much oftener to indite letters to you, yet I could in no wise, by this dutiful service of letters, do justice to and express the greatness of your kindness; for, who could ever compensate your kindness to me? Surely, no one, who is not as great a king and as noble a prince as you are; and such I am not. Wherefore your affection is the more welcome to me, because you do for me that which I can never compensate. Nevertheless, I will strive and do what lieth in me, to please your majesty; and I will pray God, that he may long preserve you safe and sound. Farewell, most noble king and most illustrious father.

At Hatfield, 27th day of September.

Your majesty's most obedient son,

EDWARD THE PRINCE.

Prince Edward to his sister Mary. [2]

When I am writing to you, my dearest sister, my nature loses all its courage; and nature, you know, cannot be driven away by any one. For Horace, that most eloquent and learned poet, who wrote many elegant sentences, hath also indited this: "*Drive out Nature by*

[1] Harl. MSS. 5087, translated from the Latin in the original.

[2] MS. Harl. 5087. From the Latin.

force, and yet she will still return. However, I give you thanks from my heart, that you have written me a letter, wherein your inexpressible love towards me is very evident, in that you wish me very much honour, and entreat God that I may grow and prosper in all piety. I wish you abundant health. Farewell, most loving sister!

At Hatfield, 7th November, 1546.

EDWARD THE PRINCE.

Prince Edward to the Earl of Hertford.[1]

Nature prompts me to call you to mind, my dearest uncle, although your affairs prevent you from seeing me; therefore I send you a letter, which may be a proof of my remembrance. But if I had any better memorial of my good-will towards you than a letter is that I would send you — yet, I think you will accept my letter kindly, not for the excellence of the letter, but for the good intent of the writer. And you will not be so much pleased in receiving a letter from me, as I shall be rejoiced, if I shall learn that you take this in good part; which I think you will do. Farewell in Christ Jesus!

At Hunsdon, the eight of November.

EDWARD THE PRINCE.

Prince Edward to the Earl of Hertford.[2]

Dearest Kinsman—In your letter, I perceive not any

[1] MS. Cott. Nero C. x. From the Latin.

[2] MS. Harl. 5087, f. 18. From the Latin. The Earl of Hertford was afterwards Lord Protector, and created Duke of Somerset. This

negligence of yours (with which you supposed I should accuse you), nor carelessness and idleness, which you have ever shunned as it were a serpent and poison; but your alacrity and diligence, your good-will—in short, that love of yours, which you have always borne to me. For you not only endeavoured, as far as was in you, to accompany me coming hither; but also, when you did not succeed, you sent me a letter, for which I give you no small thanks. For who will think the letter of him unwelcome, whose presence was to me most agreeable? God preserve you safe and in health. Farewell!

Prince Edward to his sister Elizabeth.[1]

Change of place, in fact, did not vex me so much, dearest sister, as your going from me. Now, however, nothing can happen more agreeable to me than a letter from you; and especially as you were the first to send a letter to me, and have challenged me to write. Wherefore I thank you both for your good-will and despatch. I will then strive, to my utmost power, if not to surpass, at least to equal you in good-will and zeal. But this is some comfort to my grief, that I hope to visit you shortly (if no accident intervene with either me or you), as my chamberlain has reported to me. Farewell, dearest sister!

5th December, 1546.

EDWARD THE PRINCE.

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letter has no date, but was probably written before Edward's accession to the throne—certainly before Hertford received the dukedom, which took place very shortly afterwards.

[1] MS. Harl. 5087, f. 11. From the Latin.

Prince Edward to his sister Mary.[1]

This one letter, my dearest sister, serves for two purposes; the one, to return you thanks for your New-year's gift; the other, to satisfy my desire of writing to you. Your New-year's gift was of that kind, that I needs must set a very high value on it on account of its great beauty, and much approve it on account of the love of the giver.

My fondness for writing to you is so great that, although I hope to visit you shortly, yet, as I have leisure, I can scarcely be satisfied with myself, unless I write to you. For I cannot but love ardently one, by whom I find I am very much beloved. May the Lord Jesus keep you in safety.

At Hartford, the tenth of January.

Your most loving brother,

EDWARD THE PRINCE.

Prince Edward to Queen Catherine.[2]

That I have not written to you so long, most illustrious Queen and dearest mother, the reason is, not negligence, but over-earnestness; for I need not this, because I did not purpose to write at all, but to write with more correctness. Wherefore, I hope you will be satisfied and glad that I have not written before; for you wish me to improve in all genteel accomplishment and piety, which is a token of your signal and lasting love to-

[1] MSS. Harl. 6842. Art. 9. From the Latin.

[2] MS. Harl. 5087, f. 12. From the Latin.

wards me. And this love you have manifested to me by many kindnesses, and specially by this New-year's gift, which you have lately sent to me, wherein the king's majesty's image and your own is contained, expressed to the life. For it delighteth me much to gaze upon your likenesses, though absent, whom, with the greatest pleasure, I would see present; and to whom I am bounden, as well by nature as by duty. Wherefore, I give you greater thanks for this New-year's gift than if you had sent me costly garments or embossed gold or any other magnificent thing.

May God keep in safety and health your highness, whom I hope to visit shortly.

At Hatfield, 14th January, 1546.

EDWARD THE PRINCE.

To the Archbishop of Canterbury.[1]

Two things there are that spur me on to write a letter to you, most loving godfather; the first, to thank you for the cup; and, secondly, for the letter that you last sent me. Your cup bears evidence that you wish me many very happy years. But from your letters I have reaped much profit; because in them you exhort me and (as it were) give me a spur to master polite literature, which will be serviceable to me, when I shall have reached man's estate. Besides, polite literature and the liberal arts ought to be and must be learnt by

[1] MSS. Harl. 5087, f. 13. From the Latin. The prelate addressed in this letter was Cranmer, who was one of the sponsors for Edward at his baptism.

me. As Aristippus used to say, *Learn, O boy, what is likely to be of use to you when a man;* and what Cicero, that most eloquent author, writes, answers to this: "The pursuits of letters nourish youth, delight old age; are an ornament to prosperity, afford an asylum and a comfort in adversity; delight us at home, are no hindrance abroad; they pass away the night, they travel with us, they go with us into the country." In fine, I would entreat you that you take in good part my Latinity more barbarous than barbarism itself; whereas, your style of writing is most surpassing. Farewell, most loving godfather, more dear to me than my eyes; to whom I wish a great degree of happiness.

At Hartford, 24th January, 1546.

EDWARD THE PRINCE.

To the Bishop of Chichester.[1]

Three things there are that induce me to indite a letter to you, my Lord Bishop, more learned than Minerva; in the first place, that I may thank you for the books, which very lately you sent to me; in the second, for the letter; finally (not to appear more uncivil than Timon himself), great thanks are due to you from me for the small books which Cicero, the prince of eloquence, has penned. These books overflow with eloquence like a stream of gold; and moreover they contain even some divine expression. The eloquence of Cicero was singular and admirable; his commentary elegant

[1] MS. Harl. 5087, f. 13. From the Latin.

and pleasant. Finally, if you compare my Latinity with yours, it were as if you compared clay with jewels ;[1] however, that you take mine in good part, I pray you. Farewell, most erudite Lord-Bishop.

At Hartford, 25th January, 1546.

EDWARD THE PRINCE.

Edward VI. to Queen Catherine.[2]

Many thanks for the letter that you last sent to me, dearest mother; which is a token of your singular and daily love to me. And now, as it hath seemed good to God, the greatest and best of beings, that my father and your husband, our most illustrious sovereign, should end this life, it is a common grief to both. This, however, consoles us, that he is now in heaven, and that he hath gone out of this miserable world into happy and everlasting blessedness. For whoever here leads a virtuous life, and governs the state aright, as my noble father has done, who ever promoted piety and banished all ignorance, hath a most certain journey into heaven. Although nature prompts us to grieve and shed tears for the departure of him now gone from our eyes, yet Scripture and wisdom prompt us to moderate those feelings, lest we appear to have no hope at all of the resurrection of the dead. Besides, as your highness has conferred on

[1] A comparison most fully borne out by these crude specimens of royal Latinity.

[2] MS. Harl. 5087, f. 14. The death of Henry VIII. had taken place between the date of the former letter and the present. Accounts of his deportment on his death-bed vary considerably; but it will be seen that the young king asserts his end to have been a righteous one.

me so many benefits, I ought to afford you whatever comfort I can. I wish your highness abundant health. Farewell, revered queen.

From the Tower, 7th of February, 1546.

EDWARD THE KING.

Edward VI. to his sister Mary.[1]

Natural affection, not wisdom, instigates us to lament our dearest father's death. For affection thinks she has utterly lost one who is dead; but wisdom believes that one who lives with God is in happiness everlasting. Wherefore, God having given us such wisdom, we ought not to mourn our father's death, since it is his will, who worketh all things for good. However, so far as lies in me, I will be to you a dearest brother, and overflowing with all kindness. May God endow you with his gifts. Farewell!

From the Tower of London, 8th February, 1546.

E. REX.

Edward VI. to Sir Edward Browne.[2]

Right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. And whereas it has been represented unto us that in the course of the last summer you did, at your own imminent peril and at the peril of your life, protect the house wherein our dearest sister was residing at the time, from

[1] MS. Harl. 5087. f. 14. From the Latin.

[2] Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library, translated from the Latin. It is a transcript of the seventeenth century, and occurs among legal forms and similar documents.

being entered in the night by a bloodthirsty and murderous villain, who might perchance have done an incredible damage to our said sister, or at the least to her attendants in the said house, we are desirous of requiting the said service, and for that purpose we will and command you to repair without delay to our court at London.

From the Tower, this 13th day of February.

E. R.

Edward VI. to the Earl of Hertford.[1]

Your letter, most sweet kinsman, has been the most welcome to me, for many reasons: in the first place, because, when I consider it well, I perceive in you the utmost gratitude and gentleness of disposition; in the second, I see that your mind is imbued with literature; but in the last, I mark your extraordinary diligence. Go on, then, in your illustrious pursuit, and be ever kind and gentle towards all, and do not relax your love for learning and noble philosophy: in short, apply diligently in all your undertakings. For, if you excel in kindness, all men will much admire the goodness of your nature; further, if you pursue literature with ardour, and apply yourself to the divine law, the best people will ever extol you to the skies; finally, if you be diligent and attentive, all things will succeed to you most prosperously.

Therefore, for your kindness towards me, I cannot but

[1] MSS. Lansd., 1236, art. 10, from the Latin. There is little doubt that this letter was written in 1547, the year of Edward's accession to the throne, although the month in which it is dated is at variance with the address to the Earl of Hertford after his creation of the dukedom of Somerset.

love you very much; for your undaunted zeal towards learning, I cannot but enhance you highly with praises; and for your unequalled diligence, I cannot but justly admire you. Farewell!

From St. James's, 9th day of June.[1]

Prince Edward to the Duke of Somerset.[2]

I acknowledge myself indebted to you, on many accounts, dearest uncle, for your very great kindness: in the first place, because you are endeavouring to restore to my state its own right and property, and are doing your best that the Scots may be our subjects; furthermore, you are striving that this kingdom be quiet and replenished with true religion, that is, with the faith in God. Wherefore I thank you exceedingly; for that which profits the state also profits me. Finally, I am obliged to you most especially, because, while I am in boyhood, you undertake all matters belonging to me.

Now, since you have done me so many services, I cannot but afford you some proof of my kind feeling towards you; and, since I can send nothing else to you more welcome than this, I give you this little present, wherein I earnestly beg of you that you ever remember these

[1] Endorsed, "To my very dear kinsman, Edward Earl of Hardford."

[2] MS. Harl., 5087, from the Latin. The year in which this letter was written is not stated in the MS.; but it was probably in 1547, when Somerset had concluded a treaty with the murderers of Cardinal Beaton, and planned a marriage between his sovereign and the young Queen of Scots. At the time he received it, he was preparing for his expedition into Scotland.

virtues, namely, equity and justice; secondly, faith and true religion; lastly, fortitude and bravery.

I pray God to lead you forward, and to lead you back again with full prosperity.

From the court at Hampton, 24th August.

EDWARD REX.

Edward VI.'s conversations with the Lord Admiral.[1]

In the month of September, A.D. 1547, the Lord Admiral told me that mine uncle, being gone into Scotland, should not pass the peace without the loss of a great number of men or of himself, and that he did spend much money in vain. After the return of mine uncle, he said that I was too bashful in my matters, and that I would not speak for my right. I said I was well enough. The Lord Admiral came to me at the last parliament, and desired me to write a thing for him. I asked him what. He said it was none ill. It is for the queen's matters, I said; if it were good, the lords would allow it; if it were ill, I will not write in it. Then he said he would take in better part if I wrote. I desired him to let me alone. I asked Cheke whether it were

[1] MS. in Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, No. 1729, f. 9. These very interesting and singular memoranda are so characteristic of their young and artless author, that they are inserted, although not strictly belonging to his correspondence. They exhibit very distinctly the jealousy between Seymour and Somerset, and show that the former had worked some prejudice in the King's mind against the Protector. At this period, Edward was clearly bent on not giving his written sanction to Seymour's marriage. The Fouler here mentioned was a gentleman of Edward's privy-chamber.

good to write, and he said no. When he went to his country, he desired me not to believe men that would slander him, till he came himself. He said within this two year at least ye must upon you to be as ye are or ought to be, for ye shall be able, and then you may give your men somewhat, for your uncle is old, and I trust will not live long. I said it were better for him to die before. He said, ye are a beggarly king; ye have no money to play or to give. I said that Mr. Stanhope had for me. Then he said that he would give Fouler, and Fouler did give the money to divers men as I bade him, as to Master Cheke and the bookbinder, and other. He told me these things often times. Fouler desired me to give thanks to my Lord Admiral for his gentleness to me, and praised him to me very much.

E. R.

Edward VI. to the Envoy of the King of Poland.[1]

We give exceeding thanks to your master the king of Poland for his great civility and good will towards us; for I understand this to be a copy of his letter, and that he feels the deepest sorrow for the decease of my father; and, on the other hand, that he rejoices much that I have prosperously succeeded to the kingdom. Wherefore, to him I owe not a little. But, whereas the king of Poland your master asks and begs of me to give you leave to traverse my kingdom, and visit all the towns

[1] MS. Harl., 5087, f. 17. From the Latin. This appears to have been a kind of address, perhaps not a letter. It is dated in the first year of this king's reign.

and castles, and see the fruits and produce of this land, I willingly grant it to you; and you have leave both to remain here and return when it please you.

E. REX.

From Hampton Court, 9th September.

Edward VI. to the Duke of Somerset.[1]

Since in my last letters I could not fully explain my meaning, (so great was the haste) now as I have so fit a messenger, it has seemed best to send this letter. For I have sent Wroth to you, dearest uncle, in order that he may return and be able to let me know how you are proceeding, the manner of the battle, and all other matters that you shall think fitting; for the other messengers tell me briefly the state of your affairs. But, as you have said in your epistle that priests, bishops, monks, and all the friars, will fight and stand in the foremost ranks, I feel very great joy. For I hope that they will be conquered and routed, and at last, that all the ringleaders of this tumult and mischief are going out of the world. However, there is no doubt we shall conquer; for we fight for the cause of God, they for that of the

[1] MS. Harl., 5087, f. 17. From the Latin. This letter of course refers to the Protector's invasion of Scotland. The Earl of Warwick, to whom Edward desires his remembrances, was the second in command. They crossed the Tweed, and marched towards Edinburgh at the head of twenty thousand men. It appears, from a document quoted by Mr. Tytler, that two hundred Scottish noblemen and gentlemen had engaged treasonably to join with Somerset.

pope. God grant you victory! Salute in my name the lord of Warwick.

From our Palace of Hampton, 12th September.

E. REX.

King Edward to the Duke of Somerset.[1]

Dearest uncle, by your letters and report of the messenger, we have at good length understanded, to our great comfort, the good success it hath pleased God to grant us against the Scots by your good courage and wise foresight, for the which and other the benefits of God heaped upon us, like as we are most bounden to yield him most humble thanks and to seek by all ways we may his true honour. So do we give unto you, good uncle, our most hearty thanks, praying you to thank also most heartily, in our name, our good cousin the earl of Warwick, and all the other of the noblemen, gentlemen, and others, that have served in this journey, of whose service they shall all be well assured, we will not (God grant us life) show ourselves unmindful, but be ready ever to consider the same as any occasion shall serve.

Given at our house of Oatlands, the 18th of September,

Your good nephew,

[1547.] EDWARD.

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[1] Lansd. MS., No. 1236, fol. 16. This letter was written a few days after the battle of Pinkencleugh, in which the Scots lost 1300 men, and the English also a considerable number. According to Leslie, who may be considered a partial writer, the loss was nearly equal, about 1000 men on each side.

Edward VI. to the Queen Dowager.[1]

I thank you, very noble and excellent queen, for your letter which you have sent me lately, not only for the beauty of the characters, but also for having invented the same characters; for, when I saw your beautiful letter and the excellence of your ingenuity, surpassing greatly my invention, I dared not to write to you. But, when I reflected that your disposition was so good, that everything proceeding from a good spirit and will was acceptable to you, I wrote to you this letter.

From my house at Hampton Court,

EDWARD.[2]

Edward VI. to Queen Katharine Parr.[3] 1548.

As I was so near to you, and saw you, or expected to see you every day, I wrote no letter to you, since letters are tokens of remembrance and kindness between those who are at a great distance. But being urged by your request, I would not abstain longer from writing; first, that I may do what is acceptable to you, and then to answer the letter you wrote to me when you were at

[1] Harl. MSS., 6986, Art. 10. From the French. It has been stated by a modern writer that the handwritings of Edward and Queen Catherine very much resembled each other. If so, Edward was paying himself an indirect and probably unintentional compliment in admiring her calligraphy.

[2] Endorsed, "To the very Noble and very excellent Queen."

[3] MS. Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, No. 119, art 8. Translated from the Latin original. This letter was in reply to one from Catharine on the subject of her great love for Henry VIII. It must be recollected that at this very time she was actually engaged to be married to Seymour.

St. James's, in which, first, you set before my eyes the great love you bear my father the king, of most noble memory, then your good will towards me, and lastly, your godliness and knowledge, and learning in the Scriptures. Proceed, therefore, in your virtuous course; continue to love my father, and to show the same great kindness to me which I have ever perceived in you. Cease not to love and read the Scriptures, but persevere in always reading them; for in the first you show the duty of a good wife and a good subject, and in the second, the warmth of your friendship, and in the third, your piety to God.

Wherefore, since you love my father, I cannot but much esteem you; since you love me, I cannot but love you in return; and since you love the word of God, I do love and admire you with my whole heart. Wherefore, if there be anything wherein I may do you a kindness, either in word or deed, I will do it willingly.

Farewell, this 30th of May.

Edward VI. to Queen Katharine Parr.[1]

We thank you heartily, not only for the gentle acceptation of our suit moved unto you, but also for the loving accomplishing of the same, wherein you have declared, not only a desire to gratify us, but also moved us to de-

[1] Edward VI. was only in his tenth year when this letter was penned; it is not therefore a matter of much surprise that he should have been persuaded that Katharine's marriage was really in accordance with his own wishes.

clare the good will, likewise, that we bear to you in all your requests. Wherefore, ye shall not need to fear any grief to come or to suspect lack of aid in need, seeing that he, being mine uncle, is of so good a nature that he will not be troublesome by any means unto you, and I of such mind, that, for divers just causes, I must favour you. But even as without cause you merely require help against him whom you have put in trust with the carriage of these letters, so may I merely return the same request unto you, to provide that he may live with you also without grief, which hath given him wholly unto you; and I will so provide for you both, that if hereafter any grief befal, I shall be a sufficient succour in your godly and praiseworthy enterprises. Fare ye well, with much increase of honour and virtue in Christ.

From St. James, the 25th day of June.[1]

EDWARD.

Edward VI. to the Lords of the Council remaining at London; persuading them to hold a moderate course against the Duke of Somerset, then Lord Protector of the realm. Anno 1549.[2]

Right trusty and right well beloved cousins, and trusty and well beloved, we greet you well: and have, by your letters, which our trusty servant, William Hunnings,

[1] Indorsed in a contemporary hand, "The king majesty's letter to the queen after marriage, June 25th, 1548." See Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens, vol. v., p. 105, where this letter is printed. The original is written in a very legible hand, and superscribed by the king, "To the Queen's Grace." It is still preserved among the Cottonian MSS.

[2] Harl. MSS., 353, Art. 23 and 6842, Art. 7. Somerset was committed to the Tower a few days after this letter was written; the remon-

presented unto us yesternight, perceived the causes which you allege for your abode and assemblies there, with the excuse for the staying there of Sir William Peter, one of our secretaries; and finally, what opinion you have conceived of our dearest uncle, the Lord Protector. For answer whereunto, we let you to wit that, as far as our age can understand, the rather moved by the visages that we see of our said uncle and councillor, and others our servants present here with us, we do lament our present estate being in such an imminent danger as, unless God put it into the hearts of you there to be careful to bring those uproars into a quiet, as we see our said uncle and councillor to be here, we shall have cause to think you forget your duties towards us, and the great benefits which the king my lord and father, of most famous memory, hath employed upon every one of you. For, howsoever you charge our said uncle with wilfulness in your said letter, we and our council here find him so tractable, as (if you fall not into the same fault wherewith you burthen him) we trust that both you and he may continue in such sort and surety without suspicions, by a friendly determination and agreement among yourselves, as may be to our surety and to the quiet of you and the rest of our good subjects.

Wherefore, good cousins and councillors, we pray you to consider, as in times past, you have every of you in

strance of the king, and his assertion that whatever sentence they might doom him to submit to, he could at once grant a free pardon, being of little apparent avail. It will be observed that this letter is dated on 8th October, the third year of Edward's reign, but this must clearly be an error, as that date would be 1550 instead of 1549.

his degree served us honestly at sundry times, so hath our uncle done, as you all know; and by God's grace may by your good advices serve us full well hereafter. Each man hath his faults, he his, and you yours; and, if we shall hereafter as rigorously weigh yours, as we hear that you intend with cruelty to purge his, which of you all shall be able to stand before us? To our person we verily believe, and so do you, we dare say, he meaneth no hurt. If in government he hath not so discreetly used himself as in your opinions he might have done, we think the extremity in such a case is not to be required at his hands, yet lieth in us to remit it; for he is our uncle, whom you know we love, and therefore somewhat the more to be considered at your hands. And if he were another person, yet, though he had offended, if the offence tended not directly to our person, (as we be credibly informed it doth not) you would we think in no wise counsel us to proceed to extremities against him, for fear of any respect that might particularly seem hereafter to touch any of you; like as, partly by certain articles exhibited unto us by our said uncle, which herewith we send unto you, signed with our hand, and partly by our trusty and right well beloved councillor, Sir Philip Hoby, may appear unto you, unto whom we require you to give credence, and to return him again unto us with your answer accordingly, without failing hereof, as you tender our preservation and the weal of our realm.

Given under our signet, at our Castle of Windsor, the 8th of October, the third year of our reign.

An Instruction, given by the King's Majesty to the Lord Russell, Lord Privy Seal, the Lord Paget of Beaudesart, Sir William Peter Knight, one of His Highness' Principal Secretaries, and Sir John Mason Knight, His Majesty's Secretary for the French tongue; sent to treat and conclude upon a Peace, and also to contract for the rendering of Boulogne, &c. to the French; and to have the young Queen of Scots delivered to the King as his wife, according to a former Treaty; rejecting the offer made of the French King's daughter, &c. Dated the [18*th*] *of January*, 1549-50.[1]

Edward—First, as touching the place of their meeting, the same to be at Calais or Boulogne, if it may be so brought to pass; otherwise to be at such convenient place either within our dominion, or the French, or sometime in the one, sometime in the other, as may be best agreed upon. In the appointing whereof, we would no ceremony to be so much sticked upon, as the same should be any occasion of hindrance to the good success looked for at this meeting.

Second,—If the French Commissioners shall require Boulogne, with the members, and all such grounds and lands as was of late conquered by our late father, of most noble memory, to be restored to the French King; we be pleased our commissioners shall, on our name, agree and assent thereunto, so as the said French commissioners do and will likewise covenant and agree in the name of the said French king to any our requests hereafter ensuing.

[1] MS. Sloane, 4149, art. 5. The peace was finally determined upon, but on terms so favourable to the French, that the blustering of Edward's council exhibits itself in somewhat a ridiculous manner. The way in which the commissioners are told to "cut off that talk" is very amusing.

First,—Our said commissioners shall demand in recompense for Boulogne and the members and grounds as aforesaid, that the treaties last made between our said father, of famous memory, and the realm of Scotland, may in all things be performed, and the person of the young Scottish queen delivered to us, to the intent the marriage, then covenanted between us and her, may be performed. They shall also demand that the fortifications at Newhaven and Blanknesse may be utterly ruinated, and no fortifications made, from henceforth, at any of those places.

They shall also require the continuance of the payment of our perpetual pension, and all the debts due unto us, by force of any former treaties, before the commencement of these last wars; and this for the first degree: which, if it were not to be obtained, then for the second degree, we be pleased to accept for a recompense, if they will covenant for performance of the said treaties with Scotland, and deliver the Scottish queen, and continue, from henceforth, the payment of the perpetual pension.

But if that shall also be refused, then, for the third degree, our said commissioners shall require the continuance of payment of our pension, the arrearages due by any former treaties between our said father and the late French king, and that the forts of Newhaven, also Hambleton and Blacknesse, may be utterly ruinated, and no new fortifications commenced at any of the said places hereafter.

And if this may not be obtained, then for the fourth and last degree, our pleasure is, that our said commissioners shall require the continuance of payment of our

said pension, and all such debts as were due unto our late said father before the commencement of his last wars. In the debating and discoursing whereof, we will that our said commissioners shall employ themselves to their uttermost to make as good and honourable a bargain for us, and to attain all or as much of the premises as they may, remembering unto the French commissioners our great charges sustained in these last wars commenced by them, contrary to the former treaties.

Touching the place, day, time, and other circumstances to be used as well in the delivery of Boulogne, the base[1] town, the old man, the young man, with the ground, territories, and members to the same pieces,[2] or any of them belonging, as also of payment of such sums of money as shall be agreed upon for the same, our said commissioners shall by their good discretion devise with the said French commissioners all such means as they can or may think most for our honour and surety; and such overtures or discourses as shall be made by the said French commissioners, shall advertise unto us or our council.

And, if any motion shall be made to have Scotland comprehended in this peace, our said commissioners shall say, that forasmuch as the Scots be common enemies to us and the emperor, we may not assent to the comprehension of them without the emperor's consent, or at the least, without such respect to our treaties with the emperor and his subjects, as the amity between us requireth. And therefore, if the states shall covenant to

[1] Lower part of the town. [2] Portions of land.

stand to our arbitrament and judgment for all such matters as be in difference between the said emperor and them, we will be pleased that the Scots shall be comprehended, and on such articles, or of like effect, made for comprehension of them, as was made at the conclusion of the last peace.

And, if the delivery or raising of any pieces now by us possessed in Scotland shall be required, we be pleased that our said commissioners, travailing, first by all ways and means they may, to induce the other commissioners to assent that all the said pieces, and the lands by us now possessed, may remain to us and our heirs and successors for ever, shall nevertheless, if that may not be received, assent in the end that Borthirrage, Lothar, and Douglas, shall be restored upon a convenient recompense in money, so as the forts of Roxburgh and Aymonth, with their grounds adjoining, may be covenanted to remain to us and our successors for ever.

If the French commissioners shall make any motion of treaty for marriage between us and the Lady Elizabeth, eldest daughter to the French king, our said commissioners, excusing the present talk thereof, in respect of our young years, and for such other causes as they may think good, shall do all that they may to cut off that talk; but if they shall be much pressed therein in respect of such overtures as have been made already, our pleasure is, that our said commissioners shall, by general words, entertain the talk of that matter, and thereof, and of such other matters as shall be propounded touching the same, advertise us or our council.

In all this treaty it must be remembered to reserve and have especial regard to the preservation of our treaties with the emperor, and other our friends.

And, if it shall seem convenient to our said commissioners, for the better expedition of our affairs committed to their charge, that a surceasance or abstinence of wars be granted, as well on our behalf, as on the behalf of the French king, we be pleased that our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin, the Earl of Huntingdon, our Lieutenant-general of that side, shall, by the advice of our said commissioners, grant a surcease or abstinence, for such time and in such manner and sort as by our said commissioners shall be thought best, so as the like be also granted on the behalf of the said French king.

Finally, our said commissioners shall advertise us of our council, attendant about our person, from time to time, of their proceedings, and further do, as we or our council shall appoint them, either by our letters, or the letters of our said council accordingly.[1]

Edward VI. to Martin Bucer.[2]

Since we have received nothing from our first parents, wherein we may glory, nothing which can give us just reason for rejoicing, unless, drawn by Divine Grace, we have tasted that regeneration, which is not to be revealed by flesh and blood, which also hath been hidden even

[1] At the conclusion of this document in the original MS. are given the names of those Lords of the Privy Council who were present when these instructions were agreed upon.

[2] MSS. Lands. 1236. Art. 14. From the Latin.

from some of the wisest men of this age,—I mean, justification, and sanctification through Christ, I am compelled, reverend father, since I have been called, by Divine Goodness and your agency and ministry, to this connection in Christ and a partaking of the gospel, daily to give thanks to this Heavenly Father in my prayers, both for His infinite and unbounded (though undeserved) bounty towards me, and for those gifts which he hath abundantly conferred on you. With these gifts He hath deigned to adorn and enrich you, doubtless, to the sanctifying of His name and the edifying of His church, which Satan with his servants has too long most grievously afflicted, and has well nigh made it desolate with the utmost savageness and fury. But, nevertheless, we do give God unceasing thanks, through Jesus Christ our Saviour, who hath not suffered us to be afflicted according to our iniquities, nor hath he dealt with us according to our deserts; who hath not chastised us in that wrath to which we had provoked him by our crimes; but, looking most mercifully on our infirmities, He hath raised up among us His prophets, who, being endued with virtue and the Holy Spirit, might prepare for Himself a people perfect and adorned with all piety, and turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the disobedient to the wisdom of the just; who, in short, might prepare the way of the Lord for His second coming; (whom we, whoever have drunk of the spirit of God, look for with the greatest desire) even as John acted as His forerunner at His first coming, whose ministry seems now to have (as it were) devolved on you.

Oh! how happy and blessed is Britain! Oh! how much doth she owe, in my opinion, to the great and good God, beyond all other countries! To whom as if from the East He hath commanded the heavenly light of His Divine star to beam forth; to the comforting and strengthening of which by our faith as well as yours mutually He hath raised you up, together with your brother in Christ Sir Martyr,[1] to enter upon the difficult task, wherein you may see Christ now, as if being born anew among us.

Edward VI. to Bishop Gardiner.[2]

It is not, we think, unknown to you, with what clemency and favour we, by the advice of our council, caused you to be heard and used, upon these sundry complaints and informations that were made to us and our said council, of your disordered doings and words, both at the time of our late visitation and otherwise: which, notwithstanding, considering that the favour, both then and at many other times, ministered unto you,

[1] Of course alluding to Peter Martyr, one of the most distinguished early reformers. This letter appears to end imperfectly. It savours strongly of the writings of some of the zealous reformers by whom the young king was surrounded. Although Edward was undoubtedly a youth of great talent and promise, we can hardly with safety ascribe to his pen *all* the pieces of deep and serious religious meditation which have been attributed to him.

[2] Original in Cottonian MSS. The obstinate pers everance exhibited by Gardiner in refusing to acknowledge his "errors," was worthy of a noble cause. No inducement or intimidation had any effect upon him: and here we see him, after two years' imprisonment, preserving his conscience intact, in spite of the thunders of Edward and his council.

wrought rather an insolent wilfulness in yourself, than any obedient conformity, such as would have beseemed a man of your vocation; we could not but use some demonstration of justice towards you, as well for such notorious and apparent contempts and other inobedience, as, after and contrary to our command, were openly known in you; as also for some example and terror of such others, as by your example seemed to take courage to mutter and grudge[1] against our most godly proceedings: whereof great disorder and inconvenience might have ensued.

For the avoiding thereof and for your just deserving, you were by our said council committed to ward, where, albeit we have suffered you to remain a long space, sending unto you, in the mean time, divers of the noblemen and others of our privy council, and travailing by them with clemency and favour to reduce you to the knowledge of your duty; yet, in all this time, have you neither acknowledged your faults, nor made any such submission as might have beseemed you, nor yet showed any repentance or conformity to our godly proceedings. Wherewith, albeit we have good cause to be offended, and might also justly, by the order of our laws, caused your former doings to be punished, to the example of others; yet, as we would the world and yourself should know, that we delight more in clemency than in the strict administration of justice, we have vouchsafed not only to address unto you these our letters, but also to send unto you four of our privy council with certain articles, which being by us with the advice of our said

[1] Grumble.

council considered, we think requisite, for sundry considerations, to be subscribed by you: and, therefore, will and command you to subscribe the said articles, upon pain of incurring such punishments and penalties, as by our laws may be put upon you for not doing the same.

Given at our palace at Westminster, 8th July, 1550.

Edward VI. to Barnaby Fitzpatrick.[1]

To his dearest and most beloved Barnaby,

I give thee great thanks, my dearest Mr. Barnaby, because thou hast written to me. Though I have scarcely time to send letters to thee, yet, lest I should appear ungrateful, I have written these letters unto thee, to let thee know that I have asked my uncle to send for you, and he desires thee to be here to-morrow. Salute D. Or. and D. Br., and say that I have not time to write to them. Farewell. The 9th of May, Wednesday, eight o'clock in the evening, the second of the new moon.

Thy most loving

E. Rex.

Edward VI. to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.[2]

26th November, 1551.

Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Although we have, in our common letter to you and our

[1] Written in Latin. From the Strawberry Hill Collection. This letter is the first of the series to Barnaby Fitzpatrick, who, after his return from France, was created by the king baron of Upper Ossory in Ireland, and died a most excellent Protestant. So says the historian Fuller.

[2] Manuscripts in the Library of the Heralds' College, called the Cecil Papers. The lord lieutenant was Sir James Croft, who succeeded Sir A. St. Leger on May 23rd preceding this date.

council there, answered such things as were required for the affairs of our realm, yet hath your singular good service so commended you to our favour, that we thought it meet by this our private letter to give you a testimony of the same towards you; and if you shall proceed and apply yourself to continue your industry, wisdom, and painfulness, we shall not fail, but so consider you as the same shall be a demonstration of our good mind toward you. Understanding further that your substance of riches and manner of entertainment is less, and yet your charges much more than any other who hath served us as deputies there, we are pleased to give you in reward, to your relief, the sum of one thousand pounds; and further will that you shall have in your wages, of your household servants, forty able horsemen, at 12d. per diem, and sixty footmen, at 6d. per diem, the same entertainment to begin at this next Christmas, praying you in some other numbers to diminish the same our charges, as you may conveniently: and for the allowance of the same we have written to our under-treasurer there for the time being, our letter to be sufficient warrant and discharge for the payment and allowance thereof. And likewise we be pleased to receive you into the service of our privy chamber, and mean to accept you as a gentleman thereof, not doubting but your good service and worthiness shall answer our expectations.

And likewise upon the good commendable service done by Sir Thomas Cusack,[1] knight, our chancellor there,

[1] The descendants of this family have generally spelt their name *Cahusac*, but pronounced the same as in the text.

we be pleased that he shall have, during the time of his service in the office of chancellor, the augmentation of his fee to another sum of a thousand pounds by the year more than he hath, to be paid likewise as his other fee is paid, from Christmas next following, for the which purpose we have written likewise to our said under-treasurer our letters for the warrant. And further, for the augmentation of his livelihood, and so, consequently, for the comfort of him in our service, we be pleased he, our said chancellor, shall have, as of our gift, the fee-simple of the site of the abbey Cleonard, with the appurtenances, at the rent of £1 16s. 4d.; and certain tithes of the vicarage of Kylryne, and of the parsonage of Kyllagha, and Clonedaly, and Tyena, at the rent of £15 6s. 8d; for the which purpose we will that you, by warrant, cause the same gift to pass under our great seal there: and we doubt not but you our deputy, and so also our said chancellor, will endeavour yourselves the best you may to alleviate our charges in some other parts: that by these considerations, and such like, we be not overcharged in that realm without evident commodity be answered therefore.

Given under our signet, at our palace of Westminster, the 26th of November, 1551, and in the 5th year of our reign.

Edward VI. to Barnaby Fitzpatrick.[1]

20th December, 1551.

We have received your letters of the 8th of this present month, whereby we understand how you are well

[1] Strawberry Hill Collection of Letters.

entertained, for which we are right glad, and also how you have been procured once to go a pilgrimage, for which cause we have thought good to advertise you that hereafter, if any such chance happens, you shall desire leave to go to Mr. Pickering, or to Paris, for your business, and if that will not serve, to declare to some man of estimation, with whom you are best acquainted, that as you are loth to offend the French king, because you have been so favourably used, so with safe conscience you cannot do any such thing, being brought up with me, and bound to obey my laws; also that you had commandment from me to the contrary. Yet if you be vehemently procured, you may go as waiting on the king, not so intending to the abuse nor willingly seeing the ceremonies, an you look on the mass; but in the mean season read the Scripture or some good book, and give no reverence to the mass at all.

Furthermore, you shall remember when you may conveniently be absent from the court to tarry with Pickering, and to be instructed by him how to use yourself. For women, as farforth as you may, avoid their company. Yet if the French king command you, you may sometimes dance, so measure be your mean. Else apply yourself to riding, shooting, or tennis, with such honest games—not forgetting, sometimes, when you have leisure, your learning; chiefly reading the Scripture. This I write, not doubting but you would have done so though I had not written, but to spur you on to do so. The sum of 1200 crowns you shall receive either monthly or quarterly, by Bartholomew Campaigne, factor

in Paris. He hath warrant to receive it by here, and hath written to his factor to deliver it you there.

We have signed your bill for wages of the chamber which Fitzwilliams hath. Likewise we have sent a letter into Ireland, to our deputy, that he shall take surrender of your father's lands, and to make again other letters patents that these lands shall be to him, you, and your heirs lawfully begotten for ever, adjoining those two religious houses you spoke of.

Little hath been done here since you went, but the duke of Somerset's arraignment of felonious treason, and the masters of the new erected gendarmery.

The duke, the first of this month, was brought to Westminster Hall, where sate as judge, or high steward, my lord treasurer. Twenty-six lords of the parliament went on his trial. The indictments were read, which were several—some for treason, some for traitorous felony. The lawyers read how Palmer had confessed; that the duke once minded, and made him privy to raise the North; after to call the duke of Northumberland, the marquis of Northampton, and the earl of Pembrook, to a feast, and so to have slain them; and to do this thing (as it was to be thought) had levied one hundred men at his house at London: which was scanned to be a treason, because unlawful assemblies for such purposes was treason, by an act made in the last sessions; also how the duke of Somerset minded to slay horses of the gendarmes, and to raise London. Crane confessed also the murdering of the lords in a banquet. Sir Miles Partridge confessed the raising of London: Hammon,

his man, having a watch at Greenwich of twenty weaponed men to resist, if he had been arrested; and this confessed both Partridge and Palmer. He answered, that when he levied men at his house he meant no such thing, but only to defend himself. The rest very barely answered. After debating of the matter from nine o'clock to three, the lords went together, and there weighing the matter, seemed only to touch their lives, although afterward more inconvenience might have followed, and that men might think they did it of malice, acquitted him of high treason, and condemned him of felony, which he seemed to have confessed. He, hearing the judgment, fell down on his knees, and thanked them for his open trial.[1] After he asked pardon of the duke of Northumberland, the marquis, &c., whom he confessed he meant to destroy, although before he swore vehemently to the contrary. The next day after, he confessed how he had promised Bartiville to deliver him out of prison, if he would kill the duke of Northumberland.

The muster was of one thousand men of arms, the 7th of this present. They had no pages, questrells,

[1] The peers pronounced Somerset guilty of having conspired to seize and imprison the earl of Warwick, one of the privy councillors, an offence which had been made by act of parliament felony, without benefit of clergy. When Somerset was acquitted of the capital charge of high treason, the axe which had been carried before him to the place of trial was withdrawn, much to the satisfaction of the assembled multitude, to whom he was endeared by many acts of benevolence and kindness, and who hailed his supposed liberation with loud plaudits. The account of Somerset's trial, given by Edward in this letter, is very interesting, and of course, of high authority.

nor demilances;[1] but all well armed, and so horsed as was never seen, I dare say, so many good horses, and so well-armed men. We think you shall see in France none like. Thus fare you well.

From Westminster, the 20th of December, in the year of our Lord 1551.

King Edward VI. "*to our well-beloved servant Barnaby Fitzpatrick, one of the gentlemen of the Privy Chamber.*"[2]

25th January, 155½.

We have received your letters of the 28th of December, whereby we perceive your constancy both in avoiding all kind of vices, and also in following all things of activity, or otherwise, that be honest and meet for gentlemen, of the which we are not a little glad, nothing doubting your continuance therein. We understand also, by certain letters you sent to the earl of Pembroke and Mr. Vice-Chamberlain, that you have some lack of mulettis, and that ye desire to have sent you some of ours. Whereupon we have considered that our mulettis, being old and lame, will do you but little service, and at least less than good ones bought there; for which cause we have willed Bartholomew Campagne to deliver you three hundred crowns, by exchange, for the buying of you two mulettis, over and besides your former allowance. Here we have little news at this present, but only

[1] Questrels, or kestrels, were persons who carried the arms of knights, or superior officers; demilances were light horsemen, armed with lances.

[2] Strawberry Hill Collection, 1772.

that the challenge that ye heard of before your going was very well accomplished. At tilt there came eighteen defendants; at tournay twenty; at barriers they fought eight to eight, on Twelfth Night. This last Christmas hath been well and merrily passed.[1] Afterward there was run a match at tilt, six to six, which was very well run.

Also, because of the lord Rich's sickness, the bishop of Ely was made chancellor of England during the parliament.

Of late here hath been such a tide here, as hath overflown all meadows and marshes,[2] all the isle of Dogs, all Plumstead Marsh, all Sheppy, Foulness, in Essex; and the sea-coast was quite drowned. We hear that it hath done no less harm in Flanders, Holland, Zealand, but much more, for towns and cities have been there drowned.

We are advertised out of Almaine,[3] that duke Morris

[1] Somerset was executed on the 22nd of January; and it is supposed that during his imprisonment preceding that event, the mind of the king was purposely kept from reflecting on the wretched condition of that nobleman, by the series of amusements which are alluded to in this letter. There is scarcely sufficient evidence for such a conjecture to be well founded. At that period amusement was invariably the order of the court at Christmas, and in this instance the sports did not commence till some time after Somerset's condemnation.

[2] The following account of this tide is taken from an early MS. chronicle of London, in MS. Rawl. Bodleian Library:—This year, likewise, there fortuned a wonderful tide of the Thames, which came nearly as far as Gravesend, and overflew the banks, doing great hurt, especially in the parts opposite Greenwich; and many poor people were nigh ruined, and all their goods lost. About the same time a great fish, called a dolphin, was taken at Queenborough, and was carried to London, and shown as a great marvel to many. Some say the winds made the tides contrarious all over the world. Certain it is that many marvels happened by reason thereof."

[3] Germany.

is turned from the emperor, and he with the Protestants levieth them to deliver the old duke of Saxony and the landgrave out of prison.

The cause of our slowness in writing this letter hath been lack of messengers, as we had written before time.

Now, shortly, we will prove how ye have profited in the French tongue, for within a while we shall write to you in French. Thus we make an end, wishing you as much good as ourself.

At Westminster, the 25th of January, 1551.

I have since received your letters of the 19th of this instant, assuring you that I am the gladder the oftener I hear from you.[1]

Edward VI.'s letter concerning the Hatchments of the Duke of Somerset.[2]

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well, letting you wit, that whereas the hatchments of the late duke of Somerset, attainted and put to execution duly for his offence, do remain yet within our chapel of Windsor untaken down; our pleasure is, in respect of his said offence, through the which his hatchments deserve not to be in so honourable a place among the rest of the

[1] The address, or the direction, is in the king's writing. On the outside of the letter, in another hand, is this—"25th of January, 1551. From the king's majesty."

[2] Rawlinson MSS. Somerset had been executed about a fortnight previous to the penning of this letter or warrant, and it would seem to have been the ordinary custom to refuse the raising of the hatchments of those who had suffered on the block. I have not met with any other notice of the circumstance here alluded to.

knights of our order: you shall repair to Windsor immediately upon the receipt of these our letters, and in your presence cause the said hatchment of the said late duke to be taken down in such sort as others in like cases have been, whereof fail you not.

Given under our signet, at our Palace of Westminster, the 8th of February, in the sixth year of our reign.

[8th February, 1552.]

Edward VI. to our well-beloved servant Barnaby Fitzpatrick.[1]

We have received letters, dated at Paris the 12th of this instant, and also Mr. Pickering's letter, written to our trusty and well-beloved cousin the duke of Northumberland on your behalf, whereby we perceive both the great preparation for the wars which the French king now maketh, and also how you are diminished of all things needful to go such a journey, so that it seemeth that your costs will not be borne under three hundred pounds; whereupon we have given order to Bartholomew Campaigne for to deliver you, in Paris, eight hundred French crowns, over and besides all moneys sent to you heretofore, and besides your diet. Also, whereas you seem to find a lack for the mulettis; there was appointed to you three hundred French crowns for the buying of the same, because they could not well be transported; also order is given for your horses to be carried over to you with diligence, which we trust shall like you well.

[1] Letters of King Edward VI., Strawberry Hill MSS.

We have no more to you, but to will you not to live too sumptuously as an ambassador, but so as your proportion of living may demean you, we mean; because we know many will resort to you, and desire to serve you. I told you how many I thought convenient you should keep.

After you have ordered your things at Paris, go to the court, and learn to have more intelligence, if you can; and after to the wars, to learn somewhat to serve us.

News from hence I shall write you, when you send us some; in the mean season none but that (thanks be to God!) all is well for the present. Fare you well.

From Westminster, the 28th of February, in the year of our Lord 1551.[1]

Edward VI. to his young friend Barnaby Fitzpatrick.[2]

22nd August, 1552.

The cause why we have not hitherto written unto you hath partly been the lack of a convenient messenger, partly because we meant to have something worthy writing, ere we would write anything; and therefore being now almost in the midst of our journey, which we have undertaken this summer,[3] we have

[1] This letter is much worn by frequent doubling and folding. It is directed by the king himself.

[2] Strawberry Hill Collection, 1772.

[3] "The young king this year made a journey in some of the southern parts of the kingdom; but it was observed on all sides how sickly he looked, and general pity was felt for him by the people."—*Letter, Cottonian Manuscripts.*

thought good to advertise you. Since our last letters, dated at Greenwich, we departed from thence towards a thing far contrary to that, wherein (as we perceive) by your diligent advertisement, you, and all the country you are in, are occupied. For, whereas you have all been occupied in killing of your enemies, in long marchings, in painful[1] journeys, in extreme heat, in sore skirmishings, in divers assaults; we have been occupied in killing of wild beasts, in pleasant journeys, in good fare, in viewing of fair countries, and rather have sought how to fortify our own than to spoil another man's; and being this determined, we came to Guildford, from thence to Petworth, and so to Coudray, a goodly house of Sir Anthony Browne's, where we were marvellously, yea, rather excessively banqueted. From thence we went to Halvenaker, a pretty house, beside Chichester. From thence we went to Warblington, a fair house of Sir Richard Cotton's; and so to Waltham, a fair, great old house, in times past the bishop of Winchester's, and now my Lord Treasurer's house. In all these places we had both good hunting and good cheer. From thence we went to Portsmouth town, and there viewed not only the town itself and the haven, but also divers bulwarks, as Chatterton's, Waselford, with other; in viewing of which we found the bulwarks chargeable, massy, well rampaired, but ill-fashioned, ill-flanked, and set in unmeet places; the town weak in comparison of what it ought to be, too huge great (for within the walls are fair and large closes, and much vacant room); the haven notable, great, and

[1] Fatiguing.

standing by nature easy to be fortified; and for the more strength thereof we have devised two strong castles on either side of the haven, at the mouth thereof; for at the mouth the haven is not past ten score over, but in the middle almost a mile over; and in length, for a mile and a half, able to bear the greatest ship in Christendom. From thence we went to Titchfield, the earl of Southampton's house, and so to Southampton town. The citizens had bestowed for our coming great cost in painting, repairing, and rampairing[1] of their walls. The town is handsome, and for the bigness of it as fair houses as be at London. The citizens made great cheer, and many of them kept costly tables. From Southampton we came to Bewley,[2] a little village in the middle of the New Forest; and so to Christchurch, another little town in the same forest, where we now be.

And having advertised you of all this, we think it not good to trouble you any further with news of this country; but only that, at this time, the most part of England (thanks be to God!) is clear of any dangerous or infectious sickness.

We have received all your letters of 26th May, 19th June, and 1st August. Thus fare you well.

From Christchurch, the 22nd of August, 1552.[3]

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[1] Rampairing, fortifying. [2] Beaulieu.

[3] There is no record at Christchurch of the visit of Edward. A book belonging to the corporation, and containing accounts of their proceedings, is still preserved; but it does not commence till the year 1586, although the book itself has the date of 1485. The list of expenses incurred at his visit to Southampton is in the Town records.

Edward VI. to Barnaby Fitzpatrick.[1]

24th September, 1552.

After our right hearty recommendations unto you, this shall be to signify to you how that, as well upon consideration of your long absence from us, one whole year almost being expired, as also for divers other causes us thereunto moving, which you shall the perfectlier know at your coming hither, we have thought good to call you home again at this present, with as much expedition as you with your ease can conveniently make. And for that purpose, you, or Mr. Pickering for you (if you so think good) to declare to the French king, that whereas you have waited on his majesty for this year past, now considering the dead time of the year, for wars draweth near, you are determined to repair homeward to your country, to visit your friends, declaring that, for your part, you will at any other time, when he shall have need, with leave of your master, serve him with all you can make, with other such good words, requiring his majesty's good leave for the same purpose, which, when you have, you shall repair to our presence with as much haste as you conveniently can make.

For occurrences here, we leave to write them, because of your soon access hither, save only that, since our last[2] letters, dated at Christchurch, the 7th of August, we have seen our towns of Salisbury and Winchester,

[1] Strawberry Hill Collection, 1772.

[2] This seems to be an error, as there is a letter from Edward, dated August 22nd, the same year.

Newbury, and Reading, and so returned to this castle, in good health.

Further for sickness, I hear of no place where any sweat or plague hath reigned, but only in Bristol and in the country near about. Some suspected it to be among a few in the town of Poole, in Dorsetshire; but I think rather not; for I was within three miles of it and less, and yet no man feared it. And thus God have you in his keeping.

Written at our castle of Windsor, the 24th day of September, and sixth year of our reign, A.D. 1552.

King Edward VI. to Barnaby Fitzpatrick.[1]

Having now despatched one to our ambassador for certain our affairs, we have thought by him to write unto you, how we, hitherto hearing the French king rather seeketh to keep home than to rescue his towns, do now look for you here shortly. And we, therefore, write this letter to you, because you might understand that we give you leave to come home at such time, and upon such occasion, as unto you and our ambassador shall be thought most convenient.

Send me word, or bring tidings yourself, whether our letters of the last month, sent by Mons. Villandry, be come to your hands. And thus we bid you farewell.

From Westminster, the 14th of November, 1552.

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[1] From the Strawberry Hill Collection. On the back of this letter is written in a different hand from the direction and letter, both of which are in the king's own writing, "From the King's Majesty."

James VI. to Queen Mary, his mother.[1]

Madam,

I have received the letter which you have been pleased to write to me, and which it has pleased the queen of England, my good sister, to permit to be sent to me; and I perceive from it that she has made difficulties to allow you to send one of your people to me, on the refusal that was lately given to one of hers, and in consequence of the command which you lay upon me. I am writing to her, and shall inform her of the reasons why, at the present moment, I cannot give permission for that person to come to me—not that my intention then was to refuse him altogether; but only to put him off till after the parliament, which I was then holding, was over; and I should be infinitely sorry that she should think I had done it to affront her, since I never had any other desire but to be on good terms with her as a relative and a neighbour, as I have concluded to be agreeable to the injunctions which you are pleased to give me, the which and all others that you are pleased to honour me with, you will always find me ready to put in execution, and to honour and respect you, as God commands, and as natural duty obliges me; and it will be a great consolation to me, if you shall be pleased to render me so happy as to send one of yours to visit me, as you

[1] MS. Cotton. Calig. C. vii. fol. 12. Translated from the French. It was at this period that the consent of Mary Stuart and the Scotch cabinet was given to a scheme for James and the former to rule conjointly in Scotland. It does not appear that Mary's letter, here referred to, has escaped the ravages of time.

tell me you shall, that I may be assured of your welfare and health, which, after having very humbly kissed your hands, I pray God, madam, to grant you, together with a happy and long life.

From Stirling, this 17th day of June (1582.)

Your most humble and obedient son for ever,

JAMES R.

To the Queen my mother.

James VI. to Queen Elizabeth.[1]

Madam and dearest sister,

Seeing the departure of our cousin, the duke of Lennox, hath been so long hindered by contrarious winds, and the time of his passage by sea in this winter-season, so doubtful and uncertain; and finding it meet, for many great causes, that he depart with all possible speed; therefore, we request you, most affectuously, that, for the expedition of his departure, and to take away the suspicions in this matter, and also all excuses in himself, it may please you to grant to send him your passport to pass through England to France. Upon receipt of which passport, we assure you, that he shall immediately depart out of this realm, or otherwise, shall have our highest displeasure, to be dealt withal, as his disobedience therein shall deserve.

[1] Cottonian MSS. Calig. C. vii. art. 64. The demonstration made by the Scottish nobility compelled James to discard his unworthy favourites. Arran was committed to prison, and we here see James endeavouring to provide for the safety of Lennox, whose departure was strictly insisted upon.

And, whereas the liberty of the earl of Arran hath been moved and sought for in so unfit time and manner, as ought to give you occasion to suspect that some evil effects may grow thereby; therefore we have both stayed the matter, as do also assure you, that cause, or any other, shall not interrupt or alter either the good course, or yet the convenience and increase of the loving affection and amity to be always kept betwixt you and me; wherein you shall ever have experience, and find me constant and ready to acquit thankfully your great benefits bestowed on me, and to use your good advice and counsel in my weighty affairs, as my dearest sister and friend, and one whom I will chiefly lean unto, as more at large I have signified my whole mind to your servant and ambassador here resident, who will let you know more fully all these things; and thus, dearest sister, after our most hearty commendations, we commit you to the protection of the Almighty.

From our palace at Holyrood House, the 16th day of December, 1582.

James VI. to Queen Elizabeth.[1]

February 21st, 1582-3.

Madam and dearest sister,

We recommend us heartily unto you. The continuance of your motherly affection to us, with your accustomed care for our welfare, well appeareth in

[1] Cotton. MSS. Calig. C. vii. art. 241. On January 27th, the king of Scotland recovered his liberty and resumed the reins of government.

the prospect of your favourable acceptance of our last letters and negotiations presented to you by our servitor, John Colvil, entertained with great honour for our sake, and that hath reported to us the same; and your singular good will and friendly answers given to all his errands for us, and resolved to our great comfort and contentment; and how much you esteem the esteem of ourself, and lovingly tender our requests, as plainly witnessed by the testimony of your late favour granted to our cousin the duke of Lennox, whom, at our special desire, you have admitted to your presence, and honoured with great courtesies; like as, by your own letters brought to us by the Lord of Kelsith, as also by another received from our said cousin, and by the declaration of your servitor, Mr. Bowes, we are sufficiently informed.

The greatness of your present kindness, and the memory of your former benefits thus plentifully bestowed upon us, do not only justly bind us to render to you most hearty thanks, with promise of all due gratuity and thankfulness, but also upon the experience of your love and care for our prosperity, do encourage us to commit ourself and welfare of our state to your good advice and friendly support; knowing that in your own affairs you can and will counsel us most for our honour and profit; and that in all our necessities you will relieve us for our best standing and safety. Wherein, as by your friendship in these parts we have been the better, and shall be enabled to do the offices appertaining to our calling and due to our friends; so your goodness employed upon us shall redound and return to your special contentment, as

to our most dear friend and loving cousin, professing such chief interest for us, as we cannot be satisfied or hold ourself happy, until we have given proof of our thankful mind, determined to honour, please, and requite you and your favour to us by all the good duties in our power; and, wishing that apt occasion may be offered to us, that by our own speech and action we may effectually perform and yield the due recompence that our heart earnestly desireth; which, we trust, God shall grant in due time. And, in the mean season, it may please you to accept these as a pledge of our good will and promise to you; wherein we intend more largely in particularity, as to commend and make known to you our further delays, that by our servant, Colonel Steward, whose delays protracted beyond our purpose, we heartily pray you take in good part.[1]

James VI. to Queen Elizabeth.[2]

Right excellent, right high, and mighty princess, our dearest sister and cousin, we recommend us unto you in our most heartly manner; doubting of the least impression which the report of this late accident[3] about us, being carried to your ears by other means, might give

[1] There appears to be some error in the last sentence; but it is printed as it stands in the original document.

[2] Cotton. MSS. Calig. C. vii. art. 174.

[3] "I think before this you will have been fully informed of the deliverance of my son from the hands of these traitors who held him in durance; I need not, therefore, tell you the particulars that I have heard respecting it, and will only beg you to interpose with the king, monsieur

you opinion of some alteration in us from that good course which we have taken, we have thought meetest to prevent it by our own letter; simply to let you understand how it fell out, on what occasion, and what is the effect intended thereof.

Upon the 27th of June last, having appointed a convention of our nobility and council here in our city of Saint Andrew's, of intention to have acquainted them of the answer lately returned to us from you by our late ambassador, minding to have procured their approbation and liking of them, and being come to that effect, we were advertised that some specially of our nobility divided in particularity among themselves, had trusted their friends and dependents to accompany them in arms to our said presence, where being disposed (as they were indeed) likely to draw on our whole nobility, convened in two factions. We, seeing the event of it, and understanding their evil design to us, were advised by so many of our council as were present for the time, to withdraw us to our castle of our said city, where our person might be in best surety, till some good order might be taken for removing the inconvenience appearing to ensue thereof.

This is our only meaning and intent on this behalf; assuring you that, in so doing, neither mind we to control nor remove any of our nobility or others, that have

my good brother, in my name, in order that he may be pleased, necessity requiring it, to assist my son for his preservation and for the support of the good party which is now about him."—*Letter of Queen Mary, July 15th.*

faithfully given their dependence on us heretofore, nor pre-judge[1] them in their honours, lives, nor living in any sort, except they give us special occasion hereafter to the contrary; wherewith always we mind to make you first acquainted, before we proceed against them, and always to conform us to your good advice and counsel in that behalf; it being our special meaning and intention to use all our good subjects indifferently,[2] and to grant them equally access unto our presence, except so many as are debarred therefrom, whom we intend not to call again unto us, without your special consent and privity; nor do in any sort whereby you may conceive jealousy of any our actions or proceedings. But, as you possess most deservedly our special liking and good will before all princes in the world, so mean we to continue to you, and afauldly[3] to follow forth that good course which we have both professed, sincerely and solemnly promised to you by our former letters. And whereas heretofore it hath been liked of but by ourself and two or three of our nobility that were about us, we shall be now about to qualify it ourself in such sort to the whole, as we are in good hope to be the mean of a more frequent approbation of it; at least, by so many as will depend upon our own good liking.

Praying you, therefore, dearest sister, to conceive no otherwise of us and our intention in this behalf nor[4] we have here set down, and in our princely word shall keep unto you; for so it is, and so shall it appear by the course of our whole actions, to be testified unto you from

[1] Prejudice. [2] Impartially. [3] Without fail. [4] Than.

time to time by your ambassadors here resident, whom we have at more length, by our own speech, assured of our continuance and constancy in this behalf. And so, right excellent, right high, and mighty princess, our dearest sister and cousin, we commit you to the protection of the Almighty.

Off our castle of Saint Andrew's, the 2nd day of July, and of our reign the seventeenth, 1583.

Your most loving and affectionate brother and cousin,

JAMES R.

Madam—I have stayed Master Spenser upon the letter, which I have written with my own hand, which shall be ready within two days.

James VI. to the Foreign Ministers of Religion.[1]

To the pious pastors, teachers, and ministers of God's word, the preachers of gospel truth, our reverend fathers in Christ—

James the king.

After that we, by the blessing of the great and good God, attained to the governance of our kingdom, nothing was to us of so great concern, as that we might restore and renew the true and genuine religion, and the uncorrupt discipline of the church; for it is just, as we reign by His grace, that we should turn all our energies and thoughts to His glory; and, although the purity of the

[1] Rawlinson Manuscripts, Bodleian Library. Translated from the Latin. James was suspected of a leaning towards Roman Catholic doctrines in the early part of his reign.

Divine word has, for the most part, in our kingdom, been reclaimed from the darkness of superstitions and of Popery (on which account we render exceeding thanks to God); nevertheless, our minority having been harassed by various civil tumults and seditions, did not permit us to establish a settled policy in the church, whereby it might outshine other kingdoms, and preserve the truth amongst our subjects to their posterity.

Now, however, having passed our nonage, we are beginning to think seriously on this matter; and, since it is of primary importance, we have thought not merely that we ought to subscribe to the judgment of learned men who preside over the churches amongst us; but we have deemed it worth while to inquire your opinion, O most erudite, most grave, and pious men, in order that our churches (as far as may be), may be edified to the most perfect pattern of the divine temple. For this purpose we have given command to our beloved noble———, who is setting forth to foreign parts for the sake of his health, to explain to you the present condition of our churches, and by mutual conference to elicit your sentiments, and report them faithfully to us. Moreover, we are fully persuaded you will not be wanting, by your counsel, to so pious and holy an undertaking; but that you will write to us at large, in good faith, what each of you think of a thorough reformation.

May God bless your labours, restore His church to liberty, and grant to me, in his only-begotten, that I may apply my whole heart and life to the setting forth of His glory.

Given at our palace at Falkland, the 12th of the

calends of November,[1] from the incarnation of our Saviour, 1583.

Your son in Christ our Saviour, of true and evangelic purity the foster-child and protector,

JACOBUS REX.

James VI. to the Refugee Ministers of the Church.[2]

Trusty and beloved,

Forasmuch as since the accepting of this regiment[3] in our person, we have chiefly endeavoured to establish a godly and perfect order of policy in the church of our realm, for the sincerity of the gospel being professed in our kingdom; and the troubles wherewith this realm hath been vexed in our minority not permitting a solid and stablished order of policy; we, coming to years of maturity, have chiefly disposed our intentions (by the grace of God) to maintain the truth, set forth His glory (by whose mercy we govern and reign), and to establish such order, whereby posterity hereafter may find the comfort. And, because this work of God's cannot be duly accomplished without instruments, and that we are certainly informed of your good gifts and long time bestowed in godly learning, especially in the scriptures; and that, chiefly to perform this work, we have need of men endued with such virtues;—therefore, we have given commission to our well-beloved, Mr. Archibald Herbertson, whom you shall trust in our name, that you may, with all possible diligence, address yourselves hither to your native country and king, that we may

[1] November the 20th. [2] Cotton. MSS. Calig. C. viii. art. 49.
[3] Rule; government.

have your counsel, assistance, and concurrence to so goodly a work; assuring, upon our honour, and in the word of a prince, that, upon your returning to your native country, you shall find us disposed not only to consider the pains of your journey, but also to respect you likewise in your placing and providing for you in honourable rooms, which we desire to be furnished with godly, learned, and quiet spirits.

And, like as we protest before God to mean sincerely, so we wish you to render that obedience to us, whereby you shall have good proof of our favour. We have also commanded our well-beloved chaplain and councillor, the bishop of Saint Andrew's, to write unto you in these matters; to whose writing, and the declaration of the bearer (whom you shall credit, and whom we have specially directed for that purpose), we commit the rest.

And thus, we commit you and your labours to God; and wish you not to be negligent in His work.

From our palace of Falkland, the 19th of June, 1584.

James VI. to Queen Elizabeth. [1]

Madam and dearest sister,

You have so far kythed [2] at this time as ever you did before your constant favour towards me, as

[1] Cotton. MSS. Calig. C. viii. Art. 231. The "accident" here referred to was the surrender of Stirling Castle to the lords, the partisans of England, who now had the king at their mercy, and regained their estates and honours. The treaty between England and Scotland concerning the reformed religion was concluded a few months afterwards.

[2] Shown, or evinced.

I am ashamed, since I can by no means acquit the same, as well in respect of your most loving letter as of the hasty and careful despatch and direction of the gentleman, bearer hereof, your ambassador, with whom, according to your desire, I have dealt plainly concerning this late accident; and all other things he inquired of me, surely I find the gentleman correspondent to your expectation both in honesty and secrecy. He hath kept also your command so astrictly in dealing only with myself, as in very deed some men here find it not a little strange.

And now, madam, you have dealt so plainly and honestly with me, as I am beholden to do the like. As, upon the one side I trust firmly your declaration, of your own part, concerning this late accident (which as God is my witness I never otherwise suspected); so, on the other part, I say for myself that, notwithstanding I must confess, I was hourly earnestly dealt with to run some foreign course; yet, Almighty God hears me record that, since my promises made unto you, I never have directly nor indirectly dealt in any foreign course to this hour. And to the end I may give you a reciproque proof of my honesty, I will earnestly desire you, that this matter, which is left off betwixt us, may, of new, be fallen to. Finally, persuaded that your good will may so far be acquitted by me, as your part may be mine in all cases, as I swear, on my part, ever to prefer you to all princes' friendship I have in any country, you have so far heaped your good deservings upon me; and to the effect that the foresaids may be the better performed, I

will with all speed direct one of mine own unto you, who will also amply inform you of all proceedings here. In the mean time, I will remit me to the aforesaid bearer, whom to whatsomever I have spoken, it is freely and without any compulsion; for never shall I for compulsion, other speak, promise, or act otherwise than I think, and that which is honest.

Thus, praying you ever to esteem of me as of one careful to acquit the manifold obligations he hath unto you, I commit you, madam and dearest sister, to God's holy protection.

From Linlithgow, the 26th day of November, 1585.

Your truest and lovingest friend and brother,

JAMES R.

James VI. to Mr. Archibald Douglas.[1]

Reserve up yourself no longer in the earnest dealing for my mother, for you have done it too long; and think not that any your travails can do good, if her life be taken; for then, adieu to my dealing with them that are the special instruments thereof.

And, therefore, if you look for the continuance of my favour towards you, spare no pains nor plainness in this case. But read my letter written to William Keith, and conform yourself wholly to the contents thereof.

[1] MS. Cotton. Caligula, C. ix. fol. 432; copied into Howard's Collection of Letters, p. 244. The former part of this short but interesting note was not carried out by its royal author.

And in this request let me reap the fruits of your great credit there, either now or never. Farewell!

JAMES R.

October, 1586.

James VI. to Queen Elizabeth.[1]

26th January, 1587.

Madam and dearest sister,

If you could have known what divers thoughts have agitated my mind since my directing of William Keith unto you for the soliciting of this matter, whereto nature and honour so greatly and unfeignedly bind and oblige me; if, I say, you knew what divers thoughts I have been in, and what just grief I had, weighing deeply the thing itself, if so it should proceed, as God forbid! What events might follow thereupon, what number of straits I should be driven unto; and, amongst the rest, how it might peril my reputation amongst my subjects; if these things (I yet again say) were known unto you,—then, I doubt not, but you would so far pity my case, as it would easily make you, at the first, to resolve your own best into it.

I doubt greatly in what fashion to write in this purpose, for you have already taken in so evil with my plainness, as I fear, if I should persist in that course,

[1] Cotton. MSS., Calig. D. i. Art. 17, and Calig. C. ix. Art. 72. These letters were part of the feeble efforts made by James to save the life of his mother. It is almost unnecessary to observe they were dictated more from feelings of fear and shame than of affection.

you will rather be exasperate to passions in reading the words, than by the plainest style, persuaded to consider rightly the simple truth. Yet, justly preferring the duty of an honest friend to the sudden passions of one, who, how soon they be past, can wiselier weigh the reasons than I can set them down, I am resolved, in few words and plain, to give you my friendly and best advice, appealing to your ripest judgment to discern thereupon.

What thing, madam, can greatlier touch me in honour, both as a king and a son, than that my nearest neighbour, being in strict friendship with me, shall rigorously put to death a free sovereign prince and my natural mother, alike in estate and sex to her that so uses her, (albeit subject, I grant, to a hard fortune) and touching her nearly in proximity of blood? What law of God can permit that justice shall strike upon them, whom He hath appointed supreme dispensators of the same under him? Whom he hath called gods, and therefore subjected to the censure of none in earth. Whose anointing by God cannot be defiled by man nor unrevenged by the author thereof. Who, being supreme and immediate lieutenant of God in heaven, cannot therefore be judged by their equals on earth. What monstrous thing is it, that sovereign princes themselves should be the example-givers of their own sacred diadem's profaning? Then, what should move you to this form of proceeding? (supposing the worst which, in good faith, I look not for at your hands)—honour? or, profit? Honour were it to you to spare when it is least looked for; honour were it to you (which is not only my friendly

advice, but most earnest suit) to make me and all other princes in Europe eternally beholden unto you, in granting this my so reasonable request, and not (pardon, I pray you, my free speaking) to put princes to straits of honour; where through your general reputation and the universal (almost) misliking of you, may dangerously peril, both in honour and utility, your person and estate.

You know, madam, well enough how small difference Cicero concludes to be betwixt *Utile* and *Honestum*[1] in his discourse thereof, and which of them ought to be framed to the other. And now, madam, to conclude,—I pray you so to weigh these few arguments, that as I ever presumed of your nature, so the whole world may praise your subjects for their dutiful care of your preservation, and yourself for your princely pity; the doing whereof only belongs unto you, the performing whereof only appertains unto you, and the praise thereof only will ever be yours. Respect then, good sister, this my first so long continued and so earnest request, despatching my ambassador with such a comfortable answer, as may become your person to give, and as my loving and honest heart unto you merits to receive. But in case any do vaunt themselves to know further of my mind in this matter than my ambassadors do, who indeed are fully acquainted therewith, I pray you not to take me to be a camelion; but, by the contrary, them to be malicious impostors, as surely they are.

[1] *Nihil utile quod non sit honestum*,—Nothing is really to our interest that is not honest and honourable.—*Cicero's Offices.*

And thus, praying you heartily to excuse my tedious and longsome letter, I commit you, madam and dearest sister, to the blessed protection of the Almighty, who might give you grace so to resolve on this matter, as may be most honourable for you and most acceptable to Him.

From my Palace of Holyrood, the 26th day of January, 1586.

Your most loving brother and cousin,

JAMES R.

James VI. to his Ambassador in England.[1]

I perceive by your last letters, the queen my mother still continueth in that miserable strait, that the pretended condemnation of that parliament has put her in. A strange example indeed! and so very rare! As for my part, I never heard nor read of the like practice in any case. I am sorry that by my expectation, the queen hath suffered this to proceed so far to her dishonour, and so contrary to her good fame, as, by subjects' mouth to condemn a sovereign, descended, of all hands, of the best blood of Europe. King Henry VIII.'s reputation was never prejudged in any thing but in the beheading of his bedfellow;[2] but yet that tragedy was far inferior to this, if it should proceed as it seemeth to be intended. But this I can never believe, since I know it to be the nature of noble princes at that time chiefly to *spare*, when it is most concluded in men's minds that they will *strike*.

[1] MSS. Cotton. Calig. D. i. art. 18.

[2] A common term in old works for wife, or intimate friend.

Alway, I am presently upon the directing of a very honourable ambassade thither for the same purpose; in which commission shall be one man that the queen will like well of, and who both hath and deserveth great credit at her hand; and therefore fail not to insist with the queen, that all farther proceedings may be stayed till their arrival, which shall be as soon as possible they may post thither. This far I promise to myself will be granted, since I no way merit at that queen's hands such hard using, as to disdain to hear my overture and reasons, which, when she hath heard, she may weigh as best pleaseth her. Fail not to let her see all this letter; and would God she might see the inward parts of my heart, where she should see a great jewel of honesty towards her locked up in a coffer of perplexity: she only having the key which, by her good behaviour in this case, may open the same.

Guess you in what strait my honour will be in, this unhappy thing being perfected; since, before God, I already dare skathe[1] go abroad for crying out of the whole people. And, what is spoken by them of the queen of England it grieves me to hear, and yet dare not find fault with it, except I would dethrone myself: so is whole Scotland incensed with this matter. As you love your master's honour, omit no diligence in this request. And let this letter serve for excuse to the queen, my dearest sister, of my not writing to her at this time, in respect of this bearer's sudden departure. Farewell!

JAMES R.

[1] Scarcely.

James VI. to the King of Denmark.[1]

James, by the grace of God, King of Scotland, greeting and perpetual increase of happiness, to the most serene and powerful prince Lord Frederick the Second, by the same grace, King of Denmark, Norway, of the Goths and Vandals, Duke of Sleswick, Holstein, &c. Count of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, our very dear brother, kinsman, and ally: Peter Junius, our familiar and beloved councillor and grand almoner, has returned and delivered to us your letter very affectionately written and to us therefore very acceptable and pleasant; as well as the narrative he has given us more at large concerning the health and welfare of your serene highness and your consort the queen, our very beloved kinswoman, and the virtuous disposition, the chaste and pious morals, the surpassing beauty, and truly royal education of your very sweet children. Also, what he hath related touching the peaceful and tranquil condition of the whole of your renowned kingdom, was truly most grateful and delightful to hear; and by which we were as much affected as if it were our own, on account of the manifold and ancient connection by blood, neighbourhood, and treaties: and we pray God that this it may be his will should be firm and perpetual. And no less welcome and desirable were those tidings, that he brought of your serene highness' extraordinary affection

[1] Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library. Translated from the Latin. There are preserved in the same library several complimentary letters of the same character.

and brotherly or rather fatherly feeling towards ourself and all ours. And this, even if he had been silent, from your answer to each point of our inquiries, might have been fully evident to any one. On this account, we give to your serene highness exceeding thanks, and will requite your goodness abundantly, with God's favour, when we find opportunity; and also, because you have treated so honourably and kindly our ambassador and councillor.

But what great pleasure we have derived from all these things, and how much our heart is incited, in consequence, to cultivate and embrace more sacredly this old and ancestral connection and to draw more closely the bonds of friendship and alliance, your serene highness will understand from the commands which we have given to the same Junius (as well your as our friend, who, next to ourself, is most devoted to your highness as we wish him to be), and to the well-born and noble baron, his colleague, Patrick Vaux, of Barnbarrach, knight.

Therefore, we more earnestly beg of your highness, by the bonds of our common friendship and consanguinity, that you will deign to receive these our ambassadors and councillors with courtesy and kindness, according to your wonted and natural generosity, to hear them favourably while expounding our commands, and to dismiss them quickly with a written answer suitable to my expectation and our friendship, and to give credence to them in all things, as much as to ourself, if we were present: which I hope and wish, by God's blessing, at some time or other may happen.

May God, the greatest and best, preserve safe and prosperous your serene highness to your consort, your children, your kingdoms, and to ourself and to all princes your kinsmen and allies, for a length of days.

Given at our palace, 1587.

James VI. to Queen Elizabeth.[1]

Madam and dearest sister, in times of greatest straits true friends are best tried; now merits the thanks of you and your country, who shows himself a friend to your country and estate. And this present time must move me to utter my zeal to the religion, how near a kinsmen and neighbour I find myself to you and your country. For this effect, then, have I sent you this present; hereby to offer unto you my forces, my person, and all that I may command, to be employed against your strangers in whatsomever fashion and by whatsomever means, as may best seem for the defence of your country. Wherein I promise to behave myself not as a stranger and foreign prince, but as your natural son and compatriot of your country in all respects.

Now, madam, to conclude, as on the one part, I must heartily thank you for your honourable beginning by your ambassador in offers for my satisfaction; so, on the other part, I pray you to send presently down commissioners for the perfecting of the same. Which I protest I desire not, for that I would have the reward

[1] Cotton MSS. Calig. D. i. Art. 158. This letter was written at the time when England was threatened by the Spanish Armada.

precede the deserts, but only, that I will honour, and all my subjects, with a fervent good will this your godly and honest cause; whereby your adversaries may have ado not with England, but with the whole isle of Britain.

Thus, praying you to dispose all your matters with all possible speed, and wishing you a success convenient to those who are invaded by God's professed enemies, I commit, madam and dearest sister, your present estate and country to the blessed protection of the Almighty.

From Edinburgh, the 1st of August, 1588.

Your most loving and affectionate brother and cousin, as time shall now try,

JAMES R.

James VI. to the Lords Deputies of the kingdom of Denmark.[1]

James, by the grace of God, King of Scots, to the lords deputies of Denmark, &c. greeting: illustrious, august, and noble lords, what a prosperous voyage we have had, and how happily we have reached our dear Scotland, the Almighty God speeding us on our course, and our darling consort and all our fellow-voyagers being safe and sound, and with what affections and zeal we have been received by our subjects, will be explained to your lordships with the utmost care by the illustrious and noble envoys, as they were on all occasions present;

[1] Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library. Translated from the Latin. James and his queen returned from Denmark in the spring of this year, landing at Leith on May-day, where he was most enthusiastically received by the citizens of Edinburgh.

and likewise in what manner all things, for which they undertook the voyage, have been performed to their heart's desire, and with the most exact observance by us of our word.

It remains, that we return unbounded thanks for that kindness with which you treated us, while we were among you; and would to God that an opportunity may be given us of gratifying and serving your eminences in any thing. On our royal word we promise that hearty good will towards you and yours shall never be found wanting in us. Moreover, do you continue to preserve and to augment daily, to your utmost, this sacred connection of ours with your serene king elect, our dearest brother, and the other our beloved brothers and sisters, and the most serene lady the widowed queen our mother and dearest cousin, and with all the renowned kingdom, nation, and name of Denmark; this connection we have resolved to cultivate and maintain perpetually and inviolably, since the same will be worthy of and honourable to your eminences, to ourself specially grateful, and even to God the all-powerful pleasing: to whose guardianship and protection we commit your lordships from our heart.

Illustrious, august, and noble lords, fare ye well.
25th May, 1590.

James VI. to Queen Elizabeth.[1]

Madam and dearest sister, the residence of your ambassador here, by whom you are as well advertised of

[1] Cotton MSS. Vespas. F. iii. Art. 78.

every accident falls out here, as likewise informed what my request or desire is, that you should do at this time; this, I say, is the cause that stays me untroubling you so oft with my own letters as otherwise I would do. In special, I doubt not you are sufficiently informed of this late rare and rash attempt,[1] confirming now at Falkland that treason, which in winter they committed at Holy-rood House; but God be praised who gave the last the worst success.

Now it rests for me to hunt them the best I may, and thereunto to spare no pains nor travail, and for your part of concurrence, as well that none of these traitors shall find refuge in any part of your dominions, as also that you will, according to your own laws and their just deserts, punish such of your own lewd[2] subjects as were induced by them to assist them at this deed. I doubt not, in this case, of your good will in respect of the strait band of amity betwixt us; and besides, that I leave to your consideration, if this be not a perilous precedent for all princes. And, because this turn will of necessity drive me to extraordinary charges, I must heartily pray you at this time to send me that whole sum of annuity, which I did the last year require of you; not that I am ignorant of the greatness of your present adoes;[3] but that I trust you will, in this turn,

[1] He alludes to Bothwell's attack upon the palace at Falkland in June. He carried off all the horses of the queen from the stables of the palace, but was repulsed from the royal apartments.

[2] Ignorant; wicked.

[3] Doings. It may be noticed that James was continually in the greatest need of money, and was constantly obliged to supplicate Eliza-

turn your eyes a little from looking upon your own estate, to think upon the necessary case of your friend.

But, remitting this and all other things to her loving consideration, who never yet failed me in any adoes, I commit you, madam and dearest sister, to the protection of the Almighty.

From Edinburgh, the 5th of July, 1592.

Your most loving and affectionate brother and cousin,

JAMES R.

James VI. to the Prince Ulrick.[1]

James VI. by the grace of God, King of Scotland, to the illustrious Lord Udralrick, by the same grace, Duke of Mecklenburg, prince of the Vandals, Count of Sweden, lord of Rostock and Stugard, our very dear father, grandfather, and kinsman, greeting and prosperous success.

At length the great and good God hath looked down upon us with benignant aspect, most illustrious prince, father and cousin; and that which with ardent prayers and vows we had long and earnestly desired, he hath conferred upon us most abundantly, and hath vouchsafed that wished-for day to shine upon us, in which a male child is happily born to us of our very dearest consort, the lady Anna,[2] your highness's dearest grand-

beth for the salary she allowed him as her godson. After the year 1586, Queen Elizabeth ganted him an annuity of £4,000, according to MS. Cotton. Calig. B. viii. art. 54.

[1] Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library. Translated from the Latin.

[2] Queen Anne was delivered of a son at Stirling Castle, on the 19th of February. James thus alludes to the event in his instructions to his English ambassadors in MS. Cotton. Calig. B. viii. "After pre-

daughter; she herself doing well and being in safety. This our son, and by your highness your long-expected great grandson, resembles in the whole lineaments of his face that great Frederick of immortal memory, our once most worthy father-in-law. On this account to the divine power we give unceasing thanks, and humbly beg of him, that this blessing may prove a lasting one to us, and salutary to the kingdoms both of Scotland and Denmark, and to the illustrious house of Mecklenburg, and to the dominions and people on both sides. Since we are well assured, that this event will yield no less pleasure to your highness than to ourself, we have thought advisable to despatch to your highness with our message this our familiar, and beloved councillor Peter Junius, a Setoun, almoner of the kingdom, now for many years to you well known; to whom we wish you to give credence in all that he shall relate, no less than to ourself, if we were present.

May God, the heavenly father, preserve and defend for a length of years that venerable hoary head of thine, mighty prince, and may he endue you and make you flourish with all honours and blessings of every kind.

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senting of our heartfelt commendations and letters to our dearest sister and cousin, the Queen of England, you shall in our name signify unto her that, seeing it hath pleased God to bless us with succession of our own body in the birth of a young son, which we doubt not was advertized to her good liking and contentment, we could not omit, with the first, having due respect to the blood, amity, and friendship betwixt us, heartily write her by these presents, of such as she shall please to direct as witness in her name to assist the baptizm, appointed to be the 15th day of July next to come." The prince was baptized according to the ritual of the episcopal church of Scotland.

James VI. to Robert Bowes.[1]

Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: forasmuch as upon the penitent humiliations and promised loyalty of John Colvil, together with the earnest suit of sundry of our faithful subjects respondents for him, we are, notwithstanding his former misdemeanours, not only moved to our princely pity and compassion; but also finding him conduct himself very honestly in a service lately laid to his charge (to the end he may be encouraged to hold out that good course without desertion, till we may find him other commodity fit for him) we have thought expedient to cause the perusal of his accounts, finding ourself justly indebted to him in one thousand two hundred three score six pounds sterling money. For payment thereof we have turned and addressed him to receive it of our gratuity, therein most earnestly praying you, as you would do us singular pleasure both for discharge of our promise to him and relief of his present necessity, that he or any having his power to that effect, may, by your favourable recommendations unto your sovereign, our dearest sister and cousin, procure the speedy delivery of the said sum, and to receive his discharge thereupon, which shall be as sufficient as if it were signed with our own hand. Like as to the same effect we have generally written to the lord treasurer,

[1] MSS. Cotton. Calig. D. ii. Art. 86. The commencement of this letter is damaged by fire, but the deficiencies have been supplied from Rymer's Fœdera. The original is somewhat redolent of Scotticisms, which I have in many places altered for the convenience of the general reader.

referring particular information to yourself; which letter we pray you deliver, and to return your answer hereupon with diligence. And, whereas we are informed our said suitor[1] is traduced there by some, alleging that he returned not to us the plate and money received by virtue of our commission, before our going to Denmark, his allowance in that suit, signed by the auditors of our exchequer (which at our command is sent up), and our present affirmation of his sincerity in that behalf, shall purge him of any such imputation.

It cannot seem strange to you (who know so well the nature of our people, and manifold indignities attempting against us, especially by Bothwell) that we have turned our displeasure to compassion toward the said John Colvill; neither can any man think us thereby contrary, but rather like and conform to ourself; for to this hour (as you know best of any stranger) we never pardoned unwillingly, nor willingly punished; albeit the frequent and insufferable rebellions of our nation have much more procured[2] punishment than pardon; but we have ever wished resipiscence and amendment more than obstinacy and induration, as our clemency, in your eyes, upon thousands of our subjects can witness. And we still hold mercy the anchor of our conscience, the stay of our estate, the chief ornament and mark of every Christian throne, especially when it is extended upon such, as for open offences are willing and able to make open amendment, as our said suitor, without respect of hazard or slander, hath lately done, in giving honest

[1] Or servitor. [2] Deserved.

proof of his unfeigned repentance by his late action against some of the principals who offended in the same degree as he did; yea, even further than was liked for at our hands.

Concerning the Irish matters, mentioned in our dearest sister and cousin's last letter, we have deferred to make answer thereunto, not for unwillingness or dislike thereof, but allanerly[1] upon taking order with the earl of Argyle, who, before he be enlarged or at least immediately thereafter, shall receive our commandment, that good friendship and neighbourhood be kept in that behalf, and such corrected as would presume anything to the contrary; like as, we well omit no occasion that may strengthen and confirm the amity betwixt the two crowns.

Thus, persuading ourself of undelayed satisfaction in the premises by your favourable means, and of all other good offices which you may lawfully perform, we protest[2] to keep the same in grateful remembrance; committing you to God's blessed protection.

At our palace of Holyrood House, the first day of March, 1594.

Your assured friend,

JAMES R.

James VI. to Queen Elizabeth.[3]

I am exceeding glad, madam and dearest sister, that my last letter pleases you so well. For, suppose indeed

[1] Only. A Scotch term. [2] Promise.

[3] Harl. MSS. 292, Art. 41. "Doubtless you have heard how the king of Scots had like to have lost his life by the traitorous Bothwell, and now again more like at the hand of the insurgent Catholics."—*Letter Cotton. Manuscripts.*

it was a gloss, yet surely it was no ways against the meaning of the text; for I doubt not you are wise enough to consider, that the words of friends should be taken according to the loving meaning of the utterer, and not nakedly by the literal sense only. And, indeed, I am greatly encouraged and obliged to account you my most special friend at this time, not only for the strait proclamations and order given against my avowed traitors, but likewise for the kind and loving speeches it pleased you to use to my servant Foulis, the bearer of my last; for surely I cannot yet weary to hear him oft repeat your kind and loving speeches of me.

But now, madam, since my last despatch unto you, divers great accidents have fallen out here, wherein I am at this present to crave your friendly advice and princely assistance, and especially in this last confirmation, that our Spanish lords here have given upon their own forfaltors;[1] for now their own actions have made their detestable trade of bringing in strangers so clear, as they are not able to deny it themselves; but, seeing these their presumptions durst not appear without their expecting of a back[2] hastily to follow, it is full time that we both concur for preventing the same. As for my part, I will, on the honour of a prince, assure you, that I have resolved and vowed never to be enchanted any longer with their siren excuses; but, by the contrary, never to think myself at rest, while either my country be made void of them, or else their persons be apprehended and punished for their just deserts. But,

[1] Forfeitures. [1] A check.

as for the particular discourse of their actions and points wherein I crave your advice and present assistance as well in respect of the multitude of affairs that I am presently burdened with, as of the sufficiency of the gentleman carrier hereof, my ambassador, I have thought it good to be remitted to his report; of whose employment I have made special choice at this time, as of one that hath no other cause in his head but his master's; and therefore you may the better trust him, and according to the greatness and hastiness of the errand, so I pray you to grant him a loving and sudden despatch. And thus, madam and dearest sister, I recommend you to God's most holy protection.

From Edinburgh, the 26th of July, 1594.[1]

Your most loving and affectionate brother and cousin,

JAMES R.

James VI. to the Earl of Marr.

My Lord Marr,

Because in the surety of my son consisteth my surety, and I have concredited to you the charge of his keeping, on the trust I have of your honesty; this I command you, out of my own mouth, being in company of those I like;[2] otherwise, for any charge or necessity

[1] It appears from the endorsement that this letter was received by Elizabeth on the 4th of August. It appears, therefore, to have been eight days on the road.

[2] This mysterious expression justified Marr in withholding his charge from the king himself, in case he should fall into the hands of his enemies, and be forced to command the surrender of the prince.—*Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens*, vol. vii. p. 366.

which can come from me, you shall not deliver him. And, in case God call me at any time, see that, neither for the queen nor the estates their pleasure, you deliver him, till he be eighteen, and that he command you himself. This from

Your assured friend,

Striveling (Stirling) Castle, JAMES R.
June 24th, 1595.

James VI. to Queen Elizabeth.[1]

June, 1598.

Madame and dearest sister,

Although I cannot, by any blotting of paper, render in any proportion unto you such dear thanks as you have lately in two points deserved at my hands, yet (as the nearest way to shun the spot of ingratitude) have I written this present unto you, to be a witness of my thankful mind. For, first, what dear thanks can I give for that so honourable and kind entertainment wherewith it pleased you to honour the duke of Lennox, and that only in regard of my recommendation? where not only you, but all your court and country, did look upon him with so favourable an eye, being only moved and warranted therein by your example.

And, next, how shall I ever be able to acquit your

[1] MSS. Cotton. Calig. D. ii. Art. 193. The reports alluded to by James, according to a contemporary letter, were the cause of much alarm to the English government. Tyrone had solicited succours from the Pope and the king of Spain, it being his object to procrastinate the war till he could receive them.

kind usage of me, as well by your last most loving and hearty letter, wherein it hath pleased you to declare that you are content to accept my offer for your service in Ireland; as also by the kind speeches it pleased you to use of me to my servant Foulis? in this I can say no more, but give thanks to ———, who hath at last granted my long-wish desires in making you now rightly to interpret and conceive of my honest affection, which by many obligations is duly owen unto you, all the clouds of mistaking being now most happily cleared.

For performance of your desire in the Irish matters, I shall omit no opportunity, nor spare no diligence (as my servant Foulis will more amply inform you). In the mean time, I have thought good to inform you of such news, as one of our wine-merchants, newly arrived out of Spain, hath reported unto me; as I shall never fail to make you acquainted with anything that shall ever come to my ears which many in any case concern your state. His news are these:

That, as he was in the Canaries buying wines, it was written to him by friends of his out of Spain, that twelve thousand men are prepared for Ireland, against the beginning of April next, under the conduct of one Don Jean de Cordua; as also that all the fencible men of Spain and Portugal are quinted,[1] and of every fifth man of them is composed an army of forty thousand men; and for their transporting there is about the number of thirty great ships and argosiers[2] prepared and brought

[1] Balloted to serve in the army, one out of every five.

[2] Ships of very considerable burden, either for merchandize or war.

out of Italy; besides a number of his own country ships, making in all four score great ships and twenty pinnaces. They are to make voyage in the beginning of the next summer, and, as it is thought, towards this isle.

There are the news, word by word, as they were delivered unto me; what is like to be true or false herein, I remit to be discerned upon by your wisdom; not doubting but, in this as in all other advertisements of the like nature, you will wisely keep that safe mid-way, in neither trusting nor apprehending too much the news of your enemies' strength, and yet in not omitting all timous[1] preparations to make your careful providence to appear, to prevent the enemies' celerity, who should neither be feared nor licklied.[2]

And thus, craving pardon for too long troubling you with my ragged hand, I commit you, madam and dearest sister, with the good success of all your affairs, to the tuition of the Almighty.

Your most loving and affectionate brother and cousin,

JAMES R.

James VI. to Queen Elizabeth.[3]

Madam and dearest sister,

That I have been so long unanswering your last letter, I most heartily pray you not to impute it to any sourness or fault of courtesy in me, whereunto my nature, I thank God, is no ways inclined; but in truth I bear so

[1] Early; timely.
[2] Despised; underrated.
[3] MSS. Cotton. Calig. D. x., art. 192.

little regard to so vile and treacherous lies proceeding from so base a fountain, as I thought my only innocence should have force enough to bear me through the foggy mist of such groundless calumnies; and therefore had remitted the answer of your letter, to have been carried by a messenger of my own, whom I am shortly to send unto you. Always you may assure yourself that I have obeyed the contents and desire of your letter; for, before God, it never entered in my heart to suspect that a prince, endowed with such rare graces as you are, could ever give ear to such shameless fictions.

My suit only is, that till you hear farther from me, (which shall be with all diligence) you would favour me so far, as to delay the fellow's execution, if he be yet alive,—to the effect that, by some honourable means, wherein I am to deal with you, my undeserved slander may be removed from the minds of all men. Which, assuring myself of your princely honour and love towards me, you will gladly do, I commit you, madam, and dearest sister, to the tuition [1] of the Almighty.

From my palace of Falkland, the 30th of July, 1598.
Your most loving and affectionate brother and cousin,

JAMES R.

How unjustly I am blamed anent [2] Irish matters, you shall likewise be informed by one of mine.

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[1] Safe keeping. [2] Concerning.

James VI. to the Lord Newbottle.[1]

Trusty cousin and counsellor, we greet you heartily well. Having often times before, both by word and writ, pressed Mr. John Preston of Fentonbarns to satisfy and make payment to George Heriot the younger, of that sum expressed in our precept of the first and readiest of our taxation, seeing our dearest bedfellow's the queen's jewels were engaged for this sum, and that it touched us so nearly in honour, yet has he ever excused himself with the collection and keeping together of that sum destined to the despatch of our ambassador to France, for removing of the which his farther delay and excuse, we have thought good hereby to will and desire you that ye fail not to cause the said George be answered of that sum debtful[2] to him, and contenit[3] in his precept of the first end of that sum reserved to the despatch of the said ambassador, or any other part of our taxation, being presently, or[4] that shall happen, to come first in your or your substitute's hands, and that ye prefer his payment to all others for the relief of our said dearest bedfellow's jewels engaged, and our honour and promise cause;

[1] Original Manuscript preserved in the archives of the Heriot Foundadation Schools, Edinburgh. The name of the goldsmith here mentioned has been rendered familiar to the public by Sir W. Scott's "Fortunes of Nigel." It was the Queen's practice, when desirous of procuring an advance of money, or some new trinkets, whether for personal use or for gifts, to pledge with him the most curious of his jewels. See Dr. Steven's Memoirs of Heriot, 8vo. 1845.

[2] Indebted. [3] Contained. [4] Before.

whereunto we doubt not but ye will have a special regard, as ye will merit our thanks, and do us acceptable pleasure and service. So we commit you to God.

From Falkland, this thirteenth of June, 1599.

JAMES R.

James VI. to Mr. Hambleton.[1]

Mr. Ambleton, although I never doubted, and was ever sufficiently informed of your good will borne towards me in all lawful sort (for otherwise I never did nor shall require it) by all your honest subjects of England, that sincerely profess the only true religion, professed and by laws established in both these countries; (the band of conscience being the only sure band for tying of men's affections to whom they owe a natural duty); yet having the same renewed and confirmed unto me by your late advertisements, I have thought good by this presents, all written with mine own hand, to set you down a meeting for them in this point; that is, that you shall in my name assure all the honest men you can meet with, that are affected that way, and that on the princely word of a princely king, that, as I have ever, without swerving, professed and maintained the same religion within all the bounds of my kingdom, so may they assure themselves that how soon it shall please God lawfully to possess me with the crown of that kingdom wherein they are subjects, I shall not only maintain and continue the profession of the Gospel there, but withal not suffer or permit any other religion to be professed and avowed

[1] Harl. MSS. 787, art. 3. Hambleton was one of James's followers resident in England in 1600, the date of the present letter.

within the bounds of that kingdom. But because you have been at your last being with me particularly acquainted with my intentions in this point, as also that yourself is so well known and approved unto them there, you shall by tongue more particularly inform them of my mind herein, resolving them of such malicious calumnies and unjust imputations as have been from time to time, by my undeserved enemies, contrived against me. And thus I bid you heartily farewell.

JAMES R.

James I. to Sir John Harrington.[1]

Right trusty and well-beloved friend, we greet you heartily well. We have received your *Lantern* with the poesy you send us by our servant, William Hunter, giving you hearty thanks, as likewise for your last letter, when we perceive the continuance of your loyal affection to us and your service. We shall not be unmindful to extend our princely favour hereafter to you and your particulars at all guid occasions. We commit you to God. JAMES R.

Holyrood House, 3rd April, 1603.

James I. to the Lords of his Privy Council, upon his entering England.[2]

6th April, 1603.

Right trusty and right well-beloved cousins and coun-

[1] MSS. in University Library, Edinburgh. This was in return for the present of a curious lantern made him by Sir John, accompanied with verses.

[2] MSS. in Mus. Ashmol. Oxon. James I. thus speaks of his accession to the English throne, in a letter to the king of France :—

sellors, we greet you well. This day is Roger Ashton come to us with the money sent you, for your diligence wherein used we give you our hearty thanks, and have thought good to let you know that we are thus far on our way, having made our entry into this town about four or five of the clock in the afternoon, and from hence we purpose, within a day or two, to remove to Newcastle, and so to hasten toward you as much as conveniently we may, and will be at Burghley, as you advise, we hope, in short time, and there be glad to see you. But touching your opinion that so far we should come as it were in private manner, and that thither you would send us such provision as you should think to be needful for our honour, we have thought good to let you understand that we could be well contented so to do, were it not that our city of York lieth so near in our way, as we cannot well pass by it. And being a place of so much note in these parts of our kingdom, and the second city thereof, and the country so full of nobility and gentlemen of the best sort, we do think it fit for our honour, and for the contentation of our subjects in those quarters, to make our

" You will have heard from your own ambassador with us, that in consequence of the said queen having departed this life, we have been called to the succession of the said crown, as well by right of consanguinity as by the universal consent of the nobility, the good cities, and other people of the realm, with so much cheerfulness and promptitude, that we heard almost sooner the notification of our right, than the report of her death. And for this we confess we have very great reason to praise the providence and bounty of God, in having, contrary to the appearance of things, and the expectations of men, established us peaceably in the possession of that which of right belonged to us."— MS. Cotton. Calig. E. x. art. 81.

entry there in some such solemn manner as appertaineth to our dignity. Wherefore we require you that all such things as you in your wisdoms think meet for such a purpose, and which you intended to have sent to Burghley, that you will cause them to be sent to York, so as they may be there before we make our entry, and serve to do us honour at the same. For your own persons we can well be content to spare your travail, the journey being so long, and expect you at Burghley, except any of you that is able to abide such travail shall think fit to come to York to us. As touching our guard, because we are informed that the custom of this kingdom hath been that they should attend the corpse of the prince deceased until the funerals, we can be well contented therein to do that and all other honour that we may unto the queen defunct. And likewise for the point of her interment to be done before our coming or after, we do refer it to your consideration, whether shall be more honour for her to have it finished before we come, or to have us present at it. For that we do so much respect the dignity to her appertaining, being not only successor to her in the kingdom, but so near as we are of blood, as we will not stand so much upon the ceremonies of our own joy, but that we should have in that which concerneth her all that to be done, which may most testify the honour we do bear towards her memory. Wherefore as we refer this point to your consideration, so do we desire to hear therein your advices speedily, that we may frame our journeys thereafter. Further, forasmuch as we do intend to bring into this

realm, as soon as possibly we can, both the queen our wife and our two elder children, which be able to abide the travel, we must recommend to your consideration the sending hither of such jewels and other furniture which did appertain to the late queen as you shall think to be meet for her estate, and also coaches, horses, litters, and whatsoever else you shall think meet. And in the doing thereof, these shall be warrant to you to command those that have the keeping of any such jewels or stuffs for the delivery thereof to you or to such persons as you shall appoint to receive and convey them to us. And forasmuch as for many services necessarily to be attended both about the queen's funeral, our reception into the cities and towns of this our realm and our coronation, the use of a lord chamberlain is very needful, and that the Lord Hunsdon, who now hath that place, is not able by reason of his indisposition to execute the services belonging to his charge, we have thought good to appoint our right trusty and right well beloved the Lord Thomas Howard of Walden to exercise that place for the said Lord Hunsdon, and for that purpose we have directed our letters specially to him.

Given under our signet at our town of Berwick, the 6th of April, 1603, the first year of our reign of England.

To our right trusty and well-beloved cousins and councillors, the lords and others of our Privy Council at London.

James I. to Prince Henry.[1] 1603.

My son, I am glad that by your letter I may perceive that ye make some progress in learning, although I suspect ye have rather written than dyted[2] it; for I confess I long to receive a letter from you that may [be] wholly yours, as well matter as form, as well formed by your mind as drawn by your fingers; for ye may remember that in my book to you,[3] I warn you to beware with the kind of wit that ye may stye out at the end of your fingers; not that I commend not a fair handwriting, *sed hoc facito, illud non omittito*, and the other is *multo magis præcipuum*. But nothing will be impossible for you, if ye will only remember two rules, the one, *aude semper* in all virtuous actions, trust a little more to your own strength, and away with childish bashfulness, *audaces fortuna juvat, timidosque repellit;* the other is my old, oft-repeated rule unto you, What ever ye are about, *hoc age*. I am also glad of the discovery of your little counterfeit wench. I pray God ye may be my heir in such discoveries. Ye have oft heard me say that most miracles now a days prove but illusions, and ye may see by this how wary judges should be in trusting accusations without an exact trial, and likewise how easily people are induced to trust to wonders. Let her be kept fast till my coming; and thus God bless you, my son,

Your loving father,

JAMES R.

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[1] MS. Harl., 6986, Art. 40.

[2] Indited.

[3] This refers to the *Basilicon Doron*, which was published in 1603.

James I. to the Lord Keeper and the other ministers, upon the neglect of the nobility to meet him, the jewels of the Queen[1], &c.

James R. 15 April, 1603.

Right trusty and right well beloved cousins and councillors, we greet you well. Your letter of the thirteenth we received this afternoon about four of the clock, being newly arrived here at the house of Mr. William Engleby in our way to York, where we purpose to be to-morrow at night, the 16th of this month. For answer to the contents of your letter we would have you remember that you may perceive by our former letters that we never urged your personal repair to us farther or sooner than our affairs there would permit you. But when we had increased the number of you,[2] (whereof since yourselves for some causes have suspended the execution) we did think that some of the youngest of you might have come toward us. But that being now altered, we desire that you do not remove from the charge you have in hand, where we know you sustain double pain, out of the travail in our affairs, and the other for want of our presence, which we hope shall not be now long from you, for that we purpose not to stay any where above [a] day until we come to Theobalds, where we hope to be the 28th or the 29th of this month at the farthest.

Touching the jewels to be sent for our wife, our mean-

[1] MSS. in Mus. Ashmol. Oxon.

[2] James had increased the number of the council by twelve. See Lingard, vol. ix., p. 5.

ing is not to have any of the principal jewels of the state to be sent so soon nor so far off, but only such as, by the opinion of the ladies attendant about the late queen our sister, you shall find to be meet for the ordinary apparelling and ornament of her; the rest may come after, when she shall be nearer hand. But we have thought good to put you in mind that it shall be convenient besides jewels you send some of the ladies of all degrees who were about the queen as soon as the funeral be past, or some others, whom you shall think meetest and most willing and able to abide travel, to meet her as far as they can at her entry into the realm, or soon after, for that we hold needful for her honour, and they do speedily enter into their journey, for that we would have her here at the soonest.

And as for horses, litters, coaches, saddles, and other things of that nature, whereof we have heretofore written for her use, and sent to you our cousin of Worcester, we have thought good to let you know that the proportion mentioned in your particular letter to us shall suffice in our opinion for her. And so you take order for the sending of them away with the ladies that are to come, or before, as you shall think meetest.

Given under our signet at Topcliff, the 15th day of April, in the first year of our reign of England.

To our right trusty and right well beloved cousins and councillors, our Keeper of our great seal of England, our High Treasurer of England, our Admiral of England, the Master of our Horse, and our principal Secretary for the time being.

James I. to his son, Prince Henry, upon his leaving Scotland to take possession of the crown of England,[1] 1603.

My son, that I see you not before my parting, impute it to this great occasion, wherein time is so precious; but that shall by God's grace be recompensed by your coming to me shortly, and continual residence with me ever after. Let not this news make you proud, or insolent, for a king's son and heir was ye before, and no more are ye yet. The augmentation that is hereby like to fall unto you, is but in cares and heavy burthens. Be, therefore, merry, but not insolent; keep a greatness, but *sine fastu*;[2] be resolute, but not wilful; keep your kindness, but in honourable sort;[3] choose none to be your playfellows but them that are well born; and above all things, never give good countenance to any but according as ye shall be informed that they are in estimation with me. Look upon all Englishmen that shall come to visit you as your loving subjects, not with that ceremony as towards strangers, and yet with such heartiness as at this time they deserve. This gentleman whom this bearer accompanies is worthy, and of good rank, and now my familiar servitor; use him, therefore, in a more homely, loving sort nor[4] other. I send you herewith my book lately printed;[5] study and profit in it as ye would de-

[1] MS. Harl., 6986, Art. 39.

[2] Without hauteur.

[3] Company.

[4] Than.

[5] Entitled "Βασιλικων δωρον, or his Majesty's instructions to his son Henry the Prince," 8vo. Lond. 1603.

serve my blessing; and as there can nothing happen unto you whereof ye will not find the general ground therein, if not the very particular point touched, so must ye level every man's opinions or advices unto you as ye find them agree or discord with the rules there set down, allowing and following their advices that agree with the same, mistrusting and frowning upon them that advise you to the contrary. Be diligent and earnest in your studies, that at your meeting with me I may praise you for your progress in learning. Be obedient to your master, for your own weal, and to procure my thanks; for in reverencing him ye obey me, and honour yourself. Farewell.

Your loving father,

JAMES R.[1]

James I. to his Queen.[2]

My heart,

Immediately before the receipt of your letter, I was purposed to have written unto you, and that without any great occasion, except for freeing myself at your hands from the imputatioñ of severeness. But now your letter has given more matter to write, although I take small delight to meddle in so unpleasant a process. I wonder that neither your long knowledge of my nature

[1] "The commencement and conclusion of this letter are truly admirable in their noble truth and simplicity; and even the species of absolutism, in which the author-king refers to his "booke latelie prentid," as the unalterable code of laws by which his boy, of ten years old, was to regulate his mind and conduct, can scarcely be blamed when their relative situations are considered."—*Miss Strickland.*

[2] Nichols's Progresses of James I.

nor my late earnest purgation unto you can cure you of that rooted error, that any living dare speak or inform me in any ways to your prejudice; or yet, that you can think them your unfriends who are true servants to me.

I can say no more; but protest, upon the peril of my salvation and damnation, that neither the earl of Marr nor any flesh living ever informed me that you were upon any popish or Spanish course, or that you had any other thoughts but a wrong-conceived opinion that he had more interest in your son, or would not deliver him unto you; neither does he farther charge the nobleman that was with you there; but that he was informed that some of them thought by force to have assisted you in the taking my son out of his hands; but as for any other papist or foreign practice, by God! he doth not so much as allege it. Therefore, he says he will never presume to accuse them, since it may happen well to import[1] your offence; and therefore I say over again, leave these froward, wómanly apprehensions; for I thank God I carry that love and respect unto you, which, by the law of God and nature, I ought to do to my wife and mother of my children; but not for that[2] ye are a king's daughter; for, whether ye were a king's or a cook's daughter, ye must be all alike to me, being once my wife. For the respect of your honourable birth and descent I married you; but the love and respect I now bear you is because that you are my married wife; and so, partaker of my honour as of my other fortunes. I beseech you, excuse my rude plainness in this; for, casting up of your birth

[1] Imply. [2] Because.

is a needless impertinent argument to me. God is my witness, I ever preferred you to all my bairns, much more than to any subject; but, if you will ever give place to the reports of every flattering sycophant who will persuade you that, when I account well of an honest and wise servant for his true, faithful service to me, that it is to compare or prefer him to you, then will neither you nor I ever be at rest or peace.

I have, according to my promise, copied so much of that plot (whereof I wrote unto you in my last) as did concern my son and you; which herein is enclosed,[1] that ye may see I wrote it not without cause; but I desire not to have any secretaries than yourself. As for your dool[2] made concerning it, it is utterly impertinent at this time, for such reasons as the bearer will show unto you, whom I have likewise commanded to impart divers other points unto you; which, for fear of wearying your eyes with my rugged hand, I have herein omitted, praying God, my heart, to preserve you and all the bairns, and send me a blithe meeting with you, and a couple of them.

Your own,

JAMES R.[3]

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[1] The paper here referred to is not to be found.

[2] Grief, sorrow.

[3] The letter of the Queen to which this is an answer does not appear to be in existence, but the nature of it can readily be judged by this reply. She was not contented with the concession made by James that the prince should be delivered up to her, and Montrose writes to his royal master in the greatest dilemma on the subject—"I most humbly beseech your highness to provide remedies how the Queen's grace may rest contented, and the Earl of Mar exonerated of that great charge that

James I. to Mr. Blake.[1]

16 January, 1604.

My honest Blake,

I dare not say, faced 3, [?] the letter, talking of deambulatory councils and such like satiric tricks, did a little chafe me; but you may see I answered according to the old scholar's rule — *In quo casu quæris, in eodem respondere*[2] *teneris.* For I would be sorry, indeed, not to be as constant as she was, that called herself *Semper eadem.* Indeed, you may tell the beagle that he hath best cause to complain of my being a peripatetic; for I will oft times walk so fast round about and about with him, that he will be like to fall down dead upon the floor. I can give you no other thanks for your daily working and public railing upon me, save only this—do what you can, you can give me no more arguments of your faithful affection towards me; and, do what I can unto you, I can never increase a hair the devotion of your service towards me.

We have kept such a revel with the puritans here these two days, as was never heard the like, where I

lies on him of the said prince, and some order to be taken how this controversy, likely to arise among the nobility, may be settled and pacified. Whereat, I doubt not, your Majesty will foretell a means to help the same, according to the wonted proof of your Majesty's wisdom and foresight, known heretofore in such matters; which, as we adore and admire, so we rest sorry and discontent to be so far removed and separated from the same."

[1] Cotton MSS. Vespas., E. iii., Art. 71.

[2] *Res condere* in the original manuscript.

have peppered them as soundly as you have done the papists there. It were no reason that those that will refuse the airy sign of the cross after baptism should have their purses stuffed with any more solid and substantial crosses. They fled me so from argument to argument, without ever answering me directly, *ut est eorum mos*, as I was forced at last to say unto them that, if any of them had been in a college, disputing with their scholars, if any of their disciples had answered them in that sort, they would have fetched him up, in place of a reply; and so should the rod have plied upon the poor boy's buttocks. I have such a book of theirs as may well convert infidels; but it shall never convert me, except by turning me more earnestly against them.

And thus, praying you to commend me to the honest chamberlain, I bid you heartily farewell.[1]

JAMES R.

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[1] This singular letter was probably written on the evening of January 16th, 1603-4, during the conference of the puritan ministers with James at Hampton Court. On that day the king had argued the subject of private baptism for three hours, protesting against it; but at last yielded on the condition that it should be administered solely by clergymen. "They," that is, the puritans, "disputed against the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, the surplice, the oath ex officio, and other things that stuck with them, which they hoped to get all purged away, because the king was of a Northern constitution, where no such things were practised, not yet having felt the king's pulse, whom the Southern air of the bishop's breaths had so wrought upon, that he himself answers most of their demands, sometimes gently, applying lenitives, where he found ingenuity, for he was learned and eloquent; other times corrosives, telling them these oppositions proceeded more from stubbornness in opinion than tenderness of conscience."—*Wilson's Life of James*, 1653, p. 8.

James I. to the French Protestants.[1]

Gentlemen—The congratulations and the expressions of your kind affection, and your compliments on our good fortune and happiness, which it hath pleased God by his blessing to shed upon us, which you have just paid us by this gentleman, the Sieur de Soully, your envoy, have imparted to us so much the more satisfaction and gladness, as they proceed from those who are united to us in the same and pure religion, and whose zeal and sanctity so highly commended, induces us to hope that Heaven will accompany and favour their vows and blessings upon our person.

We thank you very heartily for these obligations, and for the assurances that you give of your good-wills on our behalf; and having learnt, as well by your letters as by the mouth of this gentleman, the afflictions and necessities wherewith it hath pleased God to exercise you by reason of the continual perils that surround you, we could not but be affected with resentment, but nevertheless assuring ourself in the confidence we have, that God, who hitherto hath shown himself your surety[2] and safeguard, will ever support you against all dangers and attempts. And in order, on our part, to evince our affection, and do what lies in our power, as well for the upholding of the common cause of religion as for the good and consideration of our particular state (although at present the condition in which we have found the

[1] Cotton MSS., Calig. E. xi. Art. 48. Translated from the French.

[2] Garant, original manuscript.

affairs of this kingdom does not allow us to make too many demands upon the good-wills and means of our subjects), yet, at all times willing to relieve, as far as in us lies, your necessities, we have signified to them our desire in this respect; and, as far as we have been able, have roused their feelings and charity to some contribution for your aid[1] * * * * and that you will be grateful and receive it as a testimony of their good wills and ours in your behalf; praying you to rely for a certainty, and to be assured entirely of the constancy and sincerity of this our kind feeling towards you and your condition, as we have begged this gentleman to represent to you more particularly on our part; from whom we cannot withhold the testimony which his sufficiency and discretion have merited in the management of his charge and by his general deportment in our court; and so, referring you to him, and recommending ourself very affectionately to your hearty prayers, we will pray to God on your behalf. Messieurs,

Yours, &c.

At Royston, this 6th of March, 1604.

James I. to the Lord Salisbury.

5th August, 1608.

My Little Beagle,[2]

Ye and your fellows there are so proud now, that you have gotten the guiding again of a femi-

[1] A few lines in the original manuscript are destroyed in this place by fire.

[2] This singular but appropriate appellation is given to the above Prime Minister, on account of his diminutive stature, and of his sagacity

nine court in the old fashion—that I know not how to deal with ye. You sit at your ease, and direct all. The news from all parts of the world comes to you in your chamber; the king's own resolutions depend on your posting despatches; and when ye list, ye can, sitting on your bedsides, with one call or whistling in your fist, make him (the king) post night and day, till he come unto your presence.

Well, I know Suffolk is married; and for your part, Master 10,[1] who are wifeless, I cannot but be jealous of your greatness with my wife; but most of all am I suspicious of 3, who is so lately fallen in acquaintance with my wife; his face is so amiable as it is able to entice, and his fortune hath ever been to be great with she-saints; but his part is wrong in this, that, never having taken a wife himself in his youth, he cannot now be content, with his gray hairs, to avoid another man's wife. But, for expiation of this sin, I hope you have all three taken *one* cup of thankfulness for the occasion,[2] which fell out at a time when you durst not avow me.

And here hath been this day kept the feast of King James's delivery at Saint John's town, in Saint John's

in *smelling out* plots and intrigues. See Miss Strickland's Lives of the Queens, vol. vii. p. 438. In a manuscript letter, in the Heralds' College, the Earl of Worcester thus alludes to him: "If the king's beagle can hunt by land as well as he hath done by water, we will leave clapping of Joler, and cap the beagle." Joler was the name of one of the king's favourite hounds.

[1] He refers to Salisbury.

[2] The king here alludes to the Gowry Conspiracy, the anniversary of which was at this time.

House.[1] All other matters I refer to the old knave the bearer's report. And so, fare ye well!

JAMES R.

Charles Duke of York (afterwards Charles I.) to Prince Henry his brother.[2] *A. D.* 1609.

Nothing can be more agreeable to me, dearest brother, than your return to us; for to enjoy your company, to ride with you, to hunt with you, will yield to me supreme pleasure. I am now reading the *Conversations of Erasmus*, from which I am sure I can learn both the purity of the Latin tongue and elegance of behaviour. Farewell!

Your Highness's most loving brother,

CHARLES DUKE OF YORK AND ALBANY.

Directed, "Fratri charissimo," and endorsed 1609.

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[1] The ancient names of Perth and the King's Palace there, the scene of the Gowry Conspiracy.

[2] MSS. Harl. 6986, translated from the Latin. A curious document in the Bodleian Library tells the tale of the composition of this and other juvenile documents. It is addressed to Thomas Murray:—"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well—Forasmuch as we, considering the pains and travails employed by you, not only in the careful education of our dearly beloved son the prince, and instructing him in all kinds of good learning, according to the capacity of his tender years, but also in penning and framing his missive letters in divers languages, directed either to ourself or foreign princes, are willing both to testify our acceptance of this your service formerly done, and to encourage you with the like faithfulness and diligence to prosecute the same. Therefore, we have thought good, by these presents, to command you to continue the penning and writing of all such missives as shall be directed by our said dearly beloved son the prince in any his affairs within or without our realms; giving and granting unto you, to this effect, the custody and keeping of our said son's signet, with such allowance as shall be thought reasonable and fit, and all other privileges and pre-eminences belonging thereunto."

James I. to the Earl of Salisbury.[1]

September 12, 1609.

My little Beagle—I have been this night surprised by the Venetian ambassador, who, for all my hunting, hath not spared to hunt me out here. To be short, his chief errand was to tell me of a great fray in Venice betwixt my ambassador there and that state, anent[2] the prohibition that the inquisition of Venice hath set forth against the publishing of my book there. He hath bestowed an hour's vehement oration upon me for this purpose.

My answer was, that I could never dream that either the state of Venice would ever give me any just cause of offence; or yet, that ever my ambassador there would do them any evil office. But, as to give him any *particular* answer, I told him I must hear from my own ambassador; for he knew well enough that every prince or state must have a great trust in their own ministers.

I only write this unto you now that, in case this pantaloon come unto you, you may give him the like deferring answer. Albeit, if I should tell you my conscience, if all this man's tale be true, my ambassador hath more fervent zeal than temperate wisdom. I hope now to hear from you that your son is well; and so, farewell!

JAMES R.[3]

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[1] Sidney Papers, and Birch MSS.

[2] Concerning.

[3] "It is reported his majesty is greatly vexed with his Venetian ambassador for being too presumptuous with the states there, but the cause is not as yet known; though some say a dispute concerning trade with

James I. to the Bishop of Durham.[1]

Right reverend father-in-God, &c. — Whereas our cousin the Lady Arabella hath highly offended us in seeking to match herself without our knowledge (to whom she had the honour to be so near in blood), and in proceeding afterwards to a full conclusion of a marriage with the self-same person, whom, for many just causes, we had expressly forbidden to marry, after he had in our presence and before our council foresworn all interest as concerning her either past or present; with solemn protestations, upon his allegiance, in her own hearing, ne'er to renew any such motion again.

Forasmuch as it is more necessary for us to make some such demonstration now of the just sense and feeling we have of so great an indignity offered unto us as may make others know, by her example, that no respect of personal affection can make us neglect those considerations, wherein both the honour and order of our government is interested; we have, therefore, thought good, out of our trust in your fidelity and discretion, to commit to your care and custody the person of our said cousin; requiring and authorizing you hereby to

some merchants was the occasion thereof; others, that all the squabble was about a book of the king's himself, who therefore ought not to have been put out by reason of it."—*Mead's Letters, Harleian MSS.*

[1] Harleian MSS. 7003. Owing to the nearness of Lady Arabella Stuart to the English throne, it was necessary for her by law to obtain the consent of the king; and the jealousy of James endeavoured to prevent her marrying at all. She was, however, shortly afterwards united to William Seymour, a son of Lord Beauchamp, and hence the present letter. Her husband was committed to the Tower.

carry her down in your company to such houses of yours as unto you shall seem best and most convenient, there to remain in such sort as shall be set down to you by directions from our council or any six of them, to whom we have both declared our pleasure for the manner of her restraint, and have also given in charge (upon conference with you) to take order for all things necessary either for health or otherwise: this being the difference (as you see) between us and her—that whereas she hath abounded toward us in disobedience and ingratitude, we are, on the contrary, still apt to temper the severity of our justice with grace and favour towards her, as may well appear by the course we have taken, to commit her only to your custody, in whose house she may be so well assured to receive all good usage, and see more fruit and exercise of religion and virtue, than in many other places. For all which this shall be your sufficient warrant.

From Royston, the 13th of March, 1610.

Charles Duke of York to the King.[1]

Sweet, sweet Father,

i learn to decline substantives and adjectives. Give me your blessing.

i thank you for my best man.

Your loving son,

YORK.

To my father the king.

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[1] The Maitland Collection of Letters.

Juvenile Letter of Charles Duke of York to his Mother Queen Anne.[1]

Most worthy mistress,

Seeing I cannot have the happiness to see your majesty, give me leave to declare by these lines the duty and love I owe to you, which makes me long to see you. I wish from my heart that I might help to find a remedy to your disease;[2] the which I must bear the more patiently, because it is the sign of a long life. But I must for many causes be sorry; and specially because it is troublesome to you, and has deprived me of your most comfortable sight, and of many good dinners; the which I hope, by God's grace, shortly to enjoy. And when it shall please you to give me leave to see you, it may be I shall give you some good recipe, which either shall heal you or make you laugh; the which wishing I may obtain by your majesty's most gracious favour, kissing in all humility your most sacred hands, and praying for your health and long prosperity, I end, most worthy mistress,

Your majesty's most humble and obedient servant,

CHARLES.

James I. to the Dean of Peterborough, for translating the body of the Queen of Scots to Westminster.[3]

To our trusty and well-beloved the dean and chapter of our cathedral church of Peterborough, and in their

[1] Maitland Collection of Letters.

[2] Alluding to the gout, a complaint to which the Queen was very subject.

[3] The respect shown by James to the remains of his royal mother does credit to his feelings. She had been interred with great pomp twenty

absence to the right reverend father-in-God, the Bishop of Peterborough, and to such of the prebends or other officers of that church as shall be found being there.

James R.,

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well; for that we think it appertains to the duty we owe to our dearest mother, that like honour should be done to her body and like monument be extant of her, as to others, hers, and our progenitors, have been used to be done; and ourselves have already performed to our dear sister, the late Queen Elizabeth, we have commanded a memorial of her to be made in our church of Westminster, the place where the kings and queens of this realm are usually interred. And for that we think it inconvenient that the monument and her body should be in several places; we have ordered that her said body remaining now interred in that our cathedral church of Peterborough shall be removed to Westminster to her said monument, and have committed the care and charge of the said translation of her body from Peterborough to Westminster to the reverend father-in-God, our right trusty and well-beloved servant, the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, bearer hereof, to whom we require you (or such as he shall assign) to deliver the corpse of our said dearest mother; the same being taken up in as decent and respectful a manner as it is fitting; and for that there is a pall now upon the hearse over her grave

years previously at Peterborough, opposite to the tomb of Queen Catherine. The document now printed is taken from the Ashmolean MSS. No. 857, p. 320.

which will be requisite to be used to cover the said body in the removing thereof, which may perhaps be deemed as a fee that should belong to the church, we have appointed the said reverend father to pay you a reasonable redemption for the same, which, being done by him, we require you that he may have the pall, to be used for the purpose aforesaid. Given under our signet at our honour of Hampton Court, the eight-and-twentieth day of September, in the tenth year of our reign of England, France, and Ireland, and of Scotland the six-and-fortieth.[1]

James I. to the Earl of Northampton.[2]

My faithful, and if I had had any particular occasion worthy the troubling of you with, to have recommended unto you all this time of my absence, your letters should not have been answerless, but if for fault of other matter I had desired you to have been diligent and careful in my affairs there, it had been but [to] bid a running man to go faster, which is both unnecessary and injurious; for I may easily judge of your diligence by your account; for

[1] The following memorandum is appended to the original document: "These letters were delivered to the right reverend father-in-God the bishop of Peterborough, and to Mr. Henry Williamson, one of the prebends of the said cathedral church, in the absence of the dean and the rest of the prebends, and the contents thereof executed the fourth day of October in the year aforesaid." The body reached Westminster on October 11th, 1612.

[2] MS. Cotton. Titus, C. vi. fol. 156. There is no date to this singular letter, and it does not appear clearly from internal evidence on what occasion it was written. Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, died in June, 1614. This copy has been compared with another in MS. Harl. 4761, in the British Museum.

if the unjust steward in the gospel could have given as good a *reddere rationem*[1] for his diligence as ye have given to the chief of the stewards, he had never been cast in utter darkness; and yet my eyes saw all your letters consumed with fire, though without weeping or gnashing of teeth, my reading of them carrying likewise that other acherontide quality with it that like as I had drunken of Lethe flood when any point contained in any of them is told me by any other person, I can never remember to have heard of it before.

But now I must turn my pen to a far contrary style, repenting me of that epithet I give you in the first words hereof; for what can I think of your affection to me, and the union, when as your works declare the contrary? I must judge of your mind by your actions, and not by your words. Your orations in parliament in advancement of the union are but words; but your officers severally in Dover[2] are actions; a strange thing that your natural avarice and innate hatred to me, and all Scotland for my cause, should make you to cause your officers, at such a time, pick shillings from poor Scottishmen. Well, I protest to God, I thought you at my parting from you as honest a servant as ever king had; but what now I think of you, since the discovery of this your great hypocrisy, judge ye, and according to your faith so be it unto you as ever it be. I am glad that I have gotten this ground to pay you home upon for your often cruel and malicious speeches against babby Charles and his honest

[1] Rendering an account.

[2] He was warden ofthe cinque ports.

father; but I know ye are now so proud of your new patron as ye little care for your old friends. I know this will be the more welcome that it is my precursor, being myself shortly to follow; who, like the sun in this season, am mounting in my sphere, and approaching to shine upon your horizon. And so, praying you to believe the contrary, either of the first or last part of this letter, I bid you heartily farewell for all this great quarrel.

JAMES R.

To our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and councillor, the earl of Northampton.

Prince Charles to Lord Villiers, concerning an offence which the King had taken.[1]

Steenie,

There is none that know me so well as yourself, what dutiful respect and love I have ever, and shall ever carry to the king; and therefore ye may judge what grief it is to me to have the ill fortune as that any of my actions should bear so ill an interpretation as I find by your letter, this message I sent by my Lord Montgomery has borne. I will no ways stand upon my justification, but desire that my good meaning may be taken instead of the ill message. That which made me think that this message would not displease the king, was the

[1] MS. Harl. 6986, fol. 83. There is no date to this letter in the original: but it was evidently written soon after the preceding note. It is well known that some time afterwards the king was most anxious that his consort should make a will, being fearful that her favourite attendants would otherwise obtain possession of her jewels.

command ye know he gave a good while ago, that I should use all the means I could to make the queen make a will whereby she should make over to me her jewels; therefore, I sent to have the King's approbation of that which I thought he had desired, and therefore I thought he would either be glad than any way displeased with the message. My meaning was never to claim any thing as of right, but to submit myself as well in this as in all other things to the king's pleasure. It doth grieve me much, that the king should be so much moved with it as you say he is, for the least show of his displeasure would make me leave to meddle or think of any such thing any more, without showing himself openly so angry with me. To conclude, I pray you to commend my most humble service to his majesty, and tell him that I am very sorry that I have done any thing may offend him, and that I will be content to have any penance inflicted upon me so he may forgive me, although I had never a thought nor never shall have to displease him; yet I deserve to be punished for my ill fortune. So, hoping never to have occasion to write to you of so ill a subject again, but of many better, I rest,

Your true, constant, loving friend,

CHARLES P.

I had written to the king before I received yours, but I hope you will mend any thing that is amiss in the other with this, for I did not think the king had been so angry before I received yours.

James I. to some Nobleman.[1]

March 5th.

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well: and whereas ye remember how that in late time we discovered and put to flight one of those counterfeits,[2] the like whereof ye now advertise us, by this bearer we send unto you instructions suited for such an occasion, willing you leave

[1] Rawlinson MSS. Bodleian Library.

[2] The particular allusion I am unable to explain; but the ingenuity displayed by James in such matters can be well illustrated by two anecdotes, which I have taken from a manuscript history of Wiltshire, pp. 362, 363, by that old gossip John Aubrey, and now preserved in the library of the Royal Society:—"In the reign of King James I., one Mrs. Katherine Waldron (a gentlewoman of good family) waited on Sir Francis Seymor's lady of Marlborough. She pretended to be bewitched by a certain woman . . . . . and pretended strange things, &c.; that now she is coming to the house, now she is at such a place, &c. She had acquired such a strange habit, that she would endure exquisite torments, as to have pins thrust into her flesh, nay, under her nails. These tricks of hers were about the time when King James wrote his Dæmonologie. His majesty being in these parts, went to see her in one of her fits; she lay on a bed, and the king saw her endure the torments aforesaid. The room, as it is easily to be believed, was full of company. His majesty gave a sudden pluck to her coats, and tossed them over her head, which surprise (it seems she had some innate modesty in her), not imagining of such a thing, made her immediately start, and detected the cheat." The other anecdote is of a similar character;—"Richard Heydock, M.D., quondam fellow of New College in Oxford, was an ingenious and a learned person, but much against the hierarchy of the church of England. He had this device to gain proselytes by preaching in his dream, which was much noised abroad, and talked of as a miracle—(see Sir Richard Baker's Chronicle)—but King James I. being at Salisbury went to hear him. He observed that this harangue was very methodical, &c., that he did but counterfeit a sleep. He surprised the doctor by drawing his sword, and swearing, 'God's wounes, I will cut off his head,' at which the doctor startled, and pretended to awake; so the cheat was detected."

nothing untried to discover the imposture, trying by any deceits ye can devise to expose the cheat, as I am sure no mortal yet living could last for so long a time with a small cup of charnigo ;[1] and whereas ye advertise us that she has been straitly guarded when as she lay so in a trance, I desire ye to see that those persons who do that office may be chosen from out of your own retinue, and by no means trust any who may be a leaguer or assister with her of her own sending; for we let you to wit that miracles like those of which you give us notice should be by all ways and diligently tested, according to what Agrippa[2] says, "Many there are now-a-days who sanctify and believe miracles, when it is past the power of man to test them, who would not have believed them had they lived in the time in which they are alleged to have occurred, and the more especially if they knew the people who had a hand in the manufacture of them." It therefore becomes us to lose no opportunity of seeking after the real truth of pretended wonders, that if true we may bless the Creator who hath shown such marvels to men, and if false we may punish the impudent inventors of them.

JAMES R.

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[1] This alludes to a well-known wine formerly termed *charnico*, which is mentioned by Shakespeare and many early writers; so called from *Charneco*, the name of a village near Lisbon. It is thus mentioned in an old poem,—

Of claret, white wine, and canary sack,
Rhenish and *charnico*, I've had no lack.

[2] Cornelius Agrippa. His work had been translated into English long before this letter was written, and published at London in 1575, under the title of "The Vanity and Uncertainty of Arts." James, however as usual, quotes the Latin, which is here translated.

James I. to the Earl of Somerset.[1]

First, I take God, the searcher of all hearts, to record that, in all the time past of idle talk, I never knew nor could, out of any observation of mine, find any appearance of any such court faction as you have apprehended; and so far was I ever from overseeing or indirectly feeling of it (if I had apprehended it), as I protest to God, I would have run upon it with my feet, as upon fire, to have extinguished it, if I could have seen any sparkle of it. As for your informations, you daily told me so many lies of myself that were reported unto you, as (I confess) I gave the less credit to your reports in other things, since you could not be an eye-witness of it yourself.

Next, I take the same God to record, that never man of any degree did directly or indirectly let fall unto me any thing that might be interpreted for the lessening of your credit with me, or that one man should not rule all, and that no man's dependence should be but upon the king, or any such like phrase; which, if I had ever found, then would I have behaved myself as became so great a king, and so infinitely loving a master.

Thirdly, as God shall save me, I meant not in the letter I wrote unto you to be sparing, in the least jot, of uttering my affection towards you, as far as yourself could require; my differing from your form in that point

[1] Lambeth Palace MSS. 930, f. 90. There is no mention in the original of the person to whom this letter is addressed, but from the allusions in it, I have addressed it without hesitation to the earl of Somerset. The present document must be considered one of the most important additions ever made to the history of this period, and it has hitherto escaped the notice of all our historical writers.

being only to follow my own style, which I thought the comeliest; so as having delivered my mind as fully to May as you could have wished,—having written this letter,—having quite turned my countenance from Graham,—the like whereof I never did to any man without a known offence,—I having received your nephew in my bed-chamber, the fashion thereof being done in a needless bravery of the queen, I did surely expect that the idle talk would wear out like the pope's cursing; especially seeing my own heart knew it to be without a ground. For I am far from thinking of any possibility of any man ever to come within many degrees of your trust with me, as I must ingenuously confess you have deserved more trust and confidence of me than ever man did,—in secrecy above all flesh, in feeling and impartial respect, as well to my honour in every degree as to my profit. And all this, without respect either to kin or ally, or your nearest and dearest friend whatsoever; nay, unmoveable in one hair that might concern me against the whole world. And in those points I confess I never saw any come towards your merit: I mean, in the points of an inwardly trusty friend and servant. But, as a piece of ground cannot be so fertile, but if either by the own natural rankness or evil manuring thereof it become also fertile of strong and noisome weeds, it then proves useless and altogether unprofitable; even so, these before rehearsed rich and rare parts and merits of yours have been of long time, but especially of late, since the strange phrenzy took you, so powdered and mixed with strange streams of unquietness, passion, fury, and insolent pride, and (which is worst of all) with a settled kind of induced

obstinacy, as it chokes and obscures all these excellent and good parts that God hath bestowed upon you. For, although I confess the greatness of that trust and privacy betwixt us will very well allow unto you an infinitely great liberty and freedom of speech unto me, yea, even to rebuke me more sharply and bitterly than ever my master durst do, yet, to invent a new act of railing at me—nay, to borrow the tongue of the devil—in comparison whereof all Peacham's [1] book is but a gentle admonition, that cannot come within the compass of any liberty of friendship. And do not deceive yourself with that conceit, that I allowed you that sort of licentious freedom till of late. For, as upon the one part, it is true you never passed all limits therein till of late; so, upon the other, I bore, God Almighty knows, with those passions of yours, of old dissembling my grief thereat, only in hope that time and experience would reclaim and abate that heat, which I thought to wear you out of by a long suffering patience and many gentle admonitions; but the circumstances joined to the . . . . . made them relish ten times worse to my taste than otherwise they would have done, if they had only remained *in puris naturalibus* of passions.

For, first, being uttered at unseasonable hours, and so bereaving me of my rest, was so far from condemning your own indiscretion therein, as by the contrary it seemed you did it of purpose to grieve and vex me. Next, your fiery boutades [2] were coupled with a continual dogged

[1] An eminent popular writer of the seventeenth century, who flourished up to the time of the civil wars.

[2] Whims: fancies.

sullen behaviour, especially shortly after your fall and in all the times of your other diseases. Thirdly, in all your dealings with me, you have many times uttered a kind of distrust of the honesty of my friendship towards you. And, fourthly (which is worst of all), and worse than any other thing that can be imagined, you have, in many of your mad fits, done what you can to persuade me that you mean not so much to hold me by love as by awe, and that you have me so far in your reverence, as that I dare not offend you, or resist your appetites. I leave out of this reckoning your long creeping back and withdrawing yourself from lying in my chamber, notwithstanding my many hundred times earnestly soliciting you to the contrary, accounting that but as a point of unkindness.

Now, whether all your great parts and merits be not accompanied with a sour and distasteful sauce, yourself shall be judge. Consider likewise of the difference of the things that you lay to my charge and that I lay to yours. Here is not, "he said," or "she said," no conjectural presumptions; I charge you with nothing but things directly acted or spoken to myself. I wish to God, therefore, and I shall both pray for it and hope it, that you may make good use of this little mirror of yourself, which herein I present unto you; it is not like Sir Walter Raleigh's description of the kings that he hates, of whom he speaketh nothing but evil; for this lays plainly and honestly before you both your best and worst parts.

To conclude, then, this discourse proceeding from the infinite grief of a deeply wounded heart,—I protested in the presence of the Almighty God, that I have borne

this grief within me to the uttermost of my ability, and as never grief since my birth seated so heavily upon me, so have I borne it as long as possibly I can; neither can I bear it longer without admitting an unpardonable sin against God in consuming myself wilfully, and not only myself, but in perilling thereby not only the good estate of mine own people, but even the state of religion through all Christendom, which almost wholly, under God, rests now upon my shoulders. Be not the occasion of the hastening of his death through grief, who was not only your creator under God, but hath many a time prayed for you, which I never did for any subject alive but for you. But the lightening my heart of this burden is not now the only cause that makes me press you undelayedly to ease my grief; for your own furious assaults upon me at unseasonable hours hath now made it known to so many that you have been in some cross discourse with me, as there must be some exterior signs of the amendment of your behaviour towards me. These observations have been made and collected upon your long being with me at unseasonable hours,—loud speaking on both parts,—and their observation of my sadness after your parting, and want of rest.

What shall be the best remedy for this, I will tell you, be kind. But for the easing of my inward and consuming grief, all I crave is, that in all the words and actions of your life you may ever make it appear to me, that you never think to hold grip of me but out of my mere love, and not one hair by force. Consider that I am a freeman, if I were not a king. Remember that all

your being, except your breathing and soul, is from me. I told you twice or thrice, you might lead me by the heart and not by the nose. I cannot deal honestly, if I deal not plainly with you. If ever I find that you think to retain me by one sparkle of fear, all the violence of my love will in that instant be changed into as violent a hatred. God is my judge, my love hath been infinite towards you; and the only strength of my affection towards you hath made me bear with these things in you, and bridle my passions to the uttermost of my ability. Let me be met, then, with your entire heart, but softened by humility. Let me never apprehend that you disdain my person and undervalue my qualities; and let it not appear that any part of your former affection is cold towards me. A king may slack a part of his affection towards his servant upon the party's default, and yet love him; but a servant cannot do so to his master, but his master must hate him. Hold me thus by the heart; you may build upon my favour as upon a rock that never shall fail you, that never shall weary to give new demonstrations of my affection towards you; nay, that shall never suffer any to rise in any degree of my favour, except they may acknowledge and thank you as a furtherer of it, and that I may be persuaded in my heart, that they love and honour you for my sake: not that any living shall come to the twentieth degree of *your* favour.

For, although your good and heartily humble behaviour may wash quite out of my heart your bypast errors, yet shall I never pardon myself, but shall carry that cross to the grave with me for raising a man so high, as might make him to presume to pierce my ears with such speeches.

To make an end, then, of this unpleasing discourse, think not to value yourself so much upon other merits, as by love and heartily humble obedience. It hath ever been my common answer to any, that would plead for favour to a puritan minister by reason of his rare gifts, that I had rather have a conformable man with but ordinary parts, than the rarest men in the world, that will not be obedient; for that leaven of pride sours the whole loaf. What can or ever could thus trouble your mind? For the exterior to the world,—what can any servants expect of their prince but countenance or reward? Do not all courtesies and places come through your office as chamberlain, and rewards through your father-in-law as treasurer? Do not you two (as it were) hedge in all the court with a manner of necessity to depend upon you? And have you not besides your infinite privacy with me, together with all the main offices you possess?—your nephew in my bedchamber?—besides another far more active than he in court-practices? And have you not one of your nearest kinsmen that loves not to be idle in my son's bedchamber? With this should you have silenced these news-bringers and makers of lies. For no other thing is left you behind but my heart, which you have neither cause to doubt; nor, if it did need, could they counsel or advise you how to help.

Thus have I now set down unto you what I would say, if I were to make my testament; it lies in your hands to make of me what you please,—either the best master and truest friend, or, if you force me once to call you ingrate, which the God of heaven forbid, no so great earthly plague can light upon you! In a word,

you may procure me to delight to give daily more and more demonstrations of my favours towards you, if the fault be not in yourself.

James I. to——[1]

I have been needlessly troubled this day with your desperate letters: you may take the right way, if you list, and neither grieve me nor yourself. No man's nor woman's credit is able to cross you at my hands, if you pay me a part of that you owe me. But, how you can give over that inward affection, and yet be a dutiful servant, I cannot understand that distinction. Heaven and earth shall bear me witness that, if you do but the half your duty unto me, you may be with me in the old manner, only by expressing that love to my person and respect to your master, that God and man crave of you, with a hearty and feeling penitence of your bypast errors.

As for the bishop,—if either his health may not permit him, or that he is otherwise resolved not to go home, let him stay in God's name. Albeit, that I could rather wish that he were gone. If the treasurer have business to be with me on Sunday, he shall be very welcome; but that the bishop should also come it were extremely absurd. For, as for his speaking with me,—it will have a far better grace to be at London, whatever my resolution be. And, in the mean time, the treasurer

[1] Lambeth Palace MSS. No. 930, f. 92. There is no date to this document, neither any memorandum to whom it was addressed.

and you shall be acquainted with my mind. But in the interim of your perturbations, you must not forget to talk at length the morrow with Argyle anent the whole business, for he had need to be quickened and hastened for his journey to Scotland.

God move your heart to take the right course, for the fault shall only be in yourself: and so farewell. I can never believe that you meant in earnest the bishop's coming to Theobald's; for whether I were to grant or deny, or delay his suit, his coming hither could never but brand him with disgrace.

JAMES R.

James I. on matters connected with the Overbury Trials. [1]

I need not to answer your letter, since Lennox hath long before this time told you my resolution in that point; whereupon you have bestowed so much scribbling and railing, covertly against me and avowedly against the chancellor. Yet can I not abstain partly for satisfaction of mine own heart, and partly for satisfying you and your ally with reason, if reason can satisfy you, to send you these few observations upon your letter in a business of this nature.

I have nothing to look unto but, first, my conscience before God, and next, my reputation in the eyes of the

[1] Lambeth Palace MSS. No. 930, f. 91. There is no date in the manuscript. The prosecution of the Overbury murderers excited, of course, much discussion, and the strange conduct of James directed the suspicion of the public towards himself. The present is a very unaccountable letter to proceed from a sovereign, if in no way concerned indirectly in the matter.

whole world. If I can find one man stricter than another in point of examination, I am bound to employ him in it; and when in my conscience I have set down a course,—to change it at the instance of the party without any other reason, but because they will have it, is very little for my honour. That I was too faint in not resisting the supreme judges' wilfulness; I confess I ever was and will be faint in resisting to the trial of murder, and as bold and earnest in prosecuting the trial thereof. And as my proceedings from the beginning of this business have been only governed by the rule of my conscience, as the Searcher of all hearts knows; so must I, to my great regret, confess and vow, that from the beginning of this business, both your father-in-law and you have ever and at all times behaved yourselves quite contrary to the form, that men that wish the trial of the verity ever did in such a case. And how far it is now out of time, after that the chancellor hath served me more than thirteen years with all honour and faithfulness, having ever been a regalist, to rake up from the bottomless pit the tragedy of my poor mother, I appeal to your own judgment. Then, why should I be thus needlessly vexed? This warrant stretches only to examination, wherein no innocent person can get wrong; and, since the chancellor sees himself so suspected, is it to be thought that he dare utter any partiality? And if you will need suspect the worst (which is rather likely than possible) were it not a more handsome way for my reputation, that he might be privately advised to be silent, when he were there, except in yeas and noes? Or else, in regard of

his age and infirmities, and his main businesses in the term time, to make his appearance but very seldom? and so forbear to give any opinion, as not acquainted with the course of the business. And as for the external show of my election of him in disfavour of you—first, I am sore the world should see you except against so grave a man; and next, the more severe choice I make of persons for examination, the more it is in your favour, if honour and trial of innocence be your end.

Now, as to your motion in putting all the judges in this warrant (if you mean for trial in law), I never meant it otherwise; but if you mean for examination, it is more than absurd. And, whereas you allege that great councillors were never employed in the examination of a thing of this nature, I say the quite contrary is true, when as the circumstances or articles of the trial may reflect upon any great personages; in which cases the judges dare never presume to meddle without better assistance. To conclude, then, I never had the occasion to show the uprightness and sincerity that is required in a supreme judge, as I have in this, if the delation[1] prove false; God so deal with my soul as no man among you shall so much rejoice at it as I; nor never shall spare, I vow to God! one grain of vigour that can be stretched against the conspirators. If otherwise, as God forbid! none of you shall more heartily sorrow for it; and never king used that clemency that I will do in such a case. But, that I should suffer a murder (if it be so) to be suppressed and plastered over, to the destruction both of my soul

[1] Accusation.

and reputation, I am no Christian. I never mean wittingly and willingly to bear any man's sins but my own; and if for serving my conscience in setting down a fair course of trial, I shall lose the hands of that family, I will never care to lose the hearts of any for justice sake.

Fail not to show this letter to your father-in-law, and that both of you read it twice over at least; and God so favour me as I have no respect in this turn but to please Him, in whose throne I sit. And so farewell; praying the author of all verity, to make the clean verity to be plainly manifested in this case. JAMES R.

James I. to Sir George More.[1]

May, 1616.

Good Sir George, I am extremely sorry that your unfortunate prisoner[2] turns all the great care I have of him not only against himself, but against me also, as far as he can. I cannot blame you that ye cannot conjecture what this may be, for God knows it is only a trick of his idle brain, hoping thereby to shift his trial; but it is easy to be seen that he would threaten me with laying an aspersion upon me of being in some sort accessory to his crime. I can do [no] more (since God so obstructs his grace from him), than repeat the substance of that

[1] Archæologia, vol. xviii.

[2] The Earl of Somerset, who was at this time prisoner in the Tower, on suspicion of having been concerned in the murder of Overbury. Sir George More was lieutenant of that fortress. It has been conjectured by several writers, that the anxiety expressed by James, and the artifices employed by him to draw Somerset to a confession, arose from his knowledge, that the latter was in the possession of some terrible secret of the highest importance to James.

letter which the Lord Hay sent you yesternight, which is this:—if he would write or send me any message concerning this poisoning; it need not be private, if it be of any other business. That which I cannot now with honour receive privately, I may do it after his trial or confession proceed. I cannot hear a private message from him, without laying an aspersion upon myself of being an accessory to his crime; and I pray you to urge him, by reason that I refuse him no favour which I can grant him without taking upon me the suspicion of being guilty of that crime whereof he is accused; and so farewell.

JAMES R.

James I. to Sir George More.[1]

Good Sir George, as the only confidence I hold in your honesty made me, without the knowledge of any, put you in that place of trust which ye now possess, so must I now use your trust and secrecy in a thing greatly concerning my honour and service. Ye know Somerset's day of trial is at hand, and ye know also what fair means I have used to move him, by confessing the truth, to honour God and me, and leave some place for my mercy to work upon. I have now, at last, sent the bearer hereof, an honest gentleman, and who once followed him with such directions unto him, as if there be a spunk[2] of grace left in him, I hope they shall work a good effect. My only desire is, that ye would make his

[1] Archæologia, vol. xviii.

[2] A spark of fire.—(*Scotch.*)

convoy unto him in such secrecy as none living may know of it, and that after his speaking with him in private, he may be returned back again as secretly. So reposing myself upon your faithful and secret handling of this business, I bid you heartily farewell.

JAMES R.[1]

James I. to Sir George More.[2]

Good Sir George, although I fear that the last message I sent to your unfortunate prisoner shall not take the effect I wish it should, yet I cannot leave off to use all means possible to move him to do that, which is both most honourable for me and his own rest. Ye shall therefore give him assurance in my name, that if he will yet before his trial confess clearly unto the commissioners his guiltiness [of the] fact, I will not only perform what I promised by my last messenger, both towards him and his wife, but I will enlarge it, according to the phrase of the civil law, *quod gratiæ sunt ampliandæ*. I mean not that he shall confess if he be innocent, but ye know how evil likely[3] that is; and of yourself ye may dispute with him, what should mean his confidence now to endure a trial, when as he remembers that this last winter he confessed to the chief justice, that his cause was so evil likely, as he knew no jury could acquit him. Assure him that I protest, upon my honour, my end in this is for his and his wife's good.

[1] Indorsed by Sir George More, "9th of May, about one of the clock in the afternoon, 1616."

[2] Archæologia, vol. xviii., p. 352.

[3] Unlikely.

Ye will do well likewise, of yourself, to cast out unto him, that ye fear his wife shall plead weakly for his innocence, and that ye find the commissioners have, ye know not how, some secret assurance, that in the end she will confess of him; but this must only be as from yourself, and therefore ye must not let him know that I have written unto you, but only that I. sent you private word to deliver him this message. Let none living know of this, and if it take good effect, move him to send in haste for the commissioners, to give them satisfaction; but if he remains obstinate, I desire not that ye should trouble me with an answer; for it is to no end, and no news is better than evil news. And so farewell, and God bless your labours.

JAMES R.

13th of May, 1616.

James I. to Sir George More.[1]

Good Sir George, for answer to your strange news I am first to tell you, that I expect the Lord Hay and Sir Robert Carr have been with you before this time; which, if they have not yet been, do ye send for them in haste, that they may first hear him, before ye say anything unto him; and when that is done, if he shall still refuse to go, ye must do your office, except he be either apparently sick, or distracted of his wits; in any of which cases you may acquaint the chancellor with it, that he may adjourn the day till Monday next, between this and

[1] Archæologia, vol. xviii.

which time, if his sickness or madness be counterfeited, it will manifestly appear. In the mean time, I doubt not but ye have acquainted the chancellor with this strange fit of his; and if, upon these occasions, ye bring him a little later than the hour appointed, the chancellor may in the mean time protract the time the best he may; whom I pray you to acquaint likewise with this my answer, as well as with the accident, if he has said anything of moment to the Lord Hay. I expect to hear of it with all speed; if otherwise, let me not be troubled with it till the trial be past. Farewell.

JAMES R.[1]

[1] We have before alluded to the supposition that James was afraid of some disclosure, and it may be as well to give from Weldon the principal evidence on which it is founded:—"And now, for the last act, enters Somerset himself on the stage, who (being told, as the manner is, by the lieutenant, that he must provide to go next day to his trial) did absolutely refuse it, and said they should carry him in his bed; that the king had assured him he should not come to any trial, neither durst the king bring him to trial." There does not seem to be much in these words, but those which the lieutenant heard produced so much effect, that it seems likely he heard more than he has repeated. "This was in a high strain," he continues, "and in a language not well understood by Sir George More, lieutenant in Elwes' room, that made More quiver and shake; and however he was accounted a wise man, yet he was ne'er at his wits' end." What he heard was sufficient to induce More to go to Greenwich, with intent to disturb the king at midnight—no season able hour at that period: and he is observed by one of the grooms "bouncing at the back stairs as if mad." He procured admission, and having given his information, the king falls into a passion of tears. "On my soul, More, I wot not what to do. Thou art a wise man—help me in this great strait, and thou shalt find thou dost it for a thankful master." This the king said, "with other sad expressions;" and the whole history forms rather a serious piece of sad court scandal.

James I. to the Lord Bacon.[1]

July, 1617.

James R.—Right trusty and well-beloved councillor, we greet you well. Although our approach doth now begin to be near London, and that there doth not appear any great necessity of answering your last letter, since we are so shortly to be at home, yet we have thought good to make some observations to you upon the same, that you may not err by mistaking our meaning.

The first observation we are to make is, that whereas you would invent the second sense, wherein we took your *magnum in parvo*, in accompting it to be made *magnum* by their streperous carriage that were for the match,[2] we cannot but show you your mistaking therein;

[1] Lambeth Palace MSS., No. 936, f. 69.

[2] In this letter the king vindicates Sir Edward Cook's behaviour for the recovery of his daughter, and blames Lord Bacon for some expressions used in his former letter against the duke of Buckingham. The chancellor felt and wrote most strongly on the subject, and it would almost seem, in his opinion, that the welfare of the nation depended on the prevention of a marriage between Lady Francis Coke and Sir John Villiers. Bacon thus summed up his reasons against it:—"First, he shall marry into a disgraced house, which in reason of state is never held good; next, he shall marry into a troubled house of man and wife, which in religion and Christian discretion is disliked; thirdly, your lordship will go near to lose all such your friends as are adverse to Sir Edward Coke, myself only excepted, who out of a pure love and thankfulness shall ever be firm to you; and, lastly and chiefly, I believe it will weaken and distract the king's service; for though, in regard of the king's great wisdom and depth, I am persuaded those things will not follow which they imagine; yet opinion will do a great deal of harm, and cast the king back, and make him relapse into those inconveniences which are now well on to be recovered." Bacon changed his tone considerably after the receipt of the king's letter.

for every wrong must be judged by the first violent and wrongous ground whereupon it proceeds. And was not the thefteous stealing away of the daughter from her own father the first ground whereupon all this great noise hath since proceeded? For the ground of her getting again came upon a lawful and ordinary warrant, subscribed by one of our council, for redress of the former violence. And, except the father of a child might be proved to be either lunatic or idiot, we never read in any law, either it could be lawful for any creature to steal his child from him; or that it was a matter of noisy and streperous carriage for him to hunt for the recovery of his child again.

Our next observation is, that whereas you protest of your affection to Buckingham, and thereafter confess that it is, in some sort, parent-like; yet after that you have praised his natural parts, we will not say that you throw all down by a direct imputation upon him; but we are sure you do not deny to have had a greater jealousy of his discretion, than (so far as we conceive) he ever deserved at your or any man's hands; for you say, that you were afraid that the height of his fortune might make him too secure; and so, as a looker-on, you might sometimes see more than a gamester. Now we know not how to interpret this in plain English, otherwise than that you were afraid that the height of his fortune might make him misknow himself; and surely, if that be parent-like affection towards him, he hath no obligation to you for it. And for our part, besides our own proof, that we find him furthest from that vice of any courtier

that ever we had so near about us, so do we fear that you shall prove the only phœnix in that jealousy of all the kingdom. We would be very sorry that the world should apprehend that conceit of him, of whom we have heard you oft speak in a contrary style. And for that error of yours, which he lately palliated, and whereof you seem to pretend ignorance, the time is so short since you commended him to me, to be one of the barons of our Exchequer in Ireland, as we cannot think you to be so short of memory, as to have forgotten how far you undertook in that business before acquainting us with it, what a longer journey you made the poor man undertake, together with the slight recommendation you sent of him; which drave us to these straits, that both the poor man had been undone, and your credit a little blasted, if Buckingham had not by his importunity made us both grant your more than suit (for you had already acted a part of it), and likewise run a hazard of the hindrance of our own service, by preferring a person to so important a place, whom you so slightly recommended.

Our third observation is upon the point of your opposition to this business, wherein you either do or at least would seem to mistake us a little; for, first, whereas you excuse yourself of the oppositions you made against Sir Edward Cooke at the council table, both for that and other causes, we never took upon us such patrociny[1] of Sir Edward Cooke, as if he were a man not to be meddled withal in any case; for whatsoever you did

[1] Patronizing.

against him by our employment and commandment, we ever allowed it, and still do, for good service on your part — "*de bonis operibus non lapidamus vos.*"[1] But whereas you talk of the riot and violence committed by him—we wonder you make no mention of the riot and violence of them that stole away his daughter, which was the first ground of all that noise, as we said before; for a man may be driven by manifest wrong beyond his patience; and the first breach of that quietness, which hath ever been kept since the beginning of our journey, was made by them that committed the theft. And for your laying the burden of your opposition upon the whole council, we meddle not with that question; but the opposition we justly find fault with was, your refusal to sign a warrant for the father for the recovery of his child, clad with those circumstances (as is reported) of your slight carriage to Buckingham's mother, when she repaired to you upon so reasonable an errand.

What further opposition you made in that business, we leave it to the due trial in their own time. But whereas you would distinguish of times, pretending ignorance either of our meaning or his when you made your opposition; that would have served for a reasonable excuse not to have furthered such a business, till you had been first employed in it; but that can serve for no excuse of crossing anything that so nearly concerned one, whom you profess such friendship unto. We will not speak of obligation; for surely we think, even in good manners, you had reason not to have crossed anything wherein

[1] For good works we do not stone you.

you had heard his name used, till you had heard from him. For, if you had willingly given your consent and hand to the recovery of the young gentlewoman, and then written both to us and to him what inconvenience appeared to you to be in that match, that had been the part indeed of a true servant unto us, and a true friend to him; but first to make an opposition, and then to give advice by way of friendship, is to make the plough to go before the horse.

Thus leaving all the particulars of your carriage in this business to the own proper time, which is ever the discoverer of truth, we commend you to God.

Given under our signet at Nantwich, in the fifteenth year of our reign of Great Britain, &c.

James I. to the Lords of the Treasury. [1]

November 12, 1617.

My Lords,

No worldly thing is so precious as time. You know what task I gave you to work upon during my absence, and what time was limited unto you for the performance thereof. This same Chancellor of Scotland was wont to tell me, four and twenty years ago, that my house could not be kept upon epigrams; long discourses

[1] Cabala, p. 237. The constant extravagance of James, and the demands habitually made upon him by Buckingham for pecuniary assistance, had rendered the retrenchment of the royal household an act of necessary economy. Before his departure for Scotland, James had appointed commissioners for this purpose, and the tardiness of their proceedings appears to have occasioned the present gentle reproof.

and fair tales will never repair my estate. *Omnis virtus in actione consistit.* Remember that I told you the shoe must be made for the foot, and let that be the square of all your proceedings in the business. Abate superfluities in all things, and multitudes of unnecessary officers, wherever they may be placed; but for the household, wardrobe, and pensions, cut and carve as many as may agree with the possibility of my means. Exceed not your own rule of fifty thousand pounds for the household: if you can make it less, I will account it for good service; and that you may see I will not spare mine own person, I have sent with this bearer a note of the superfluous charges concerning my mouth, having had the happy opportunities of this messenger in an errand so nearly concerning his place. In this, I expect no answer in word, or writing, but only the real performance, for a beginning, to relieve me out of my miseries. For now the ball is at your feet, and the world shall bear me witness, that I have put you fairly to it; and so praying God to bless your labours, I bid you heartily farewell.

Your own,

JAMES R.

James I. to the Lords of the Council. [1]

My Lords,

I received from you yesternight the bluntest letter that, I think, ever king received from his

[1] Cabala, p. 238.

council. Ye write that the green cloth will do nothing, and ye offer me no advice. Why are ye councillors, if ye offer no counsel? An ordinary messenger might have brought me such an answer. It is my pleasure, that my charges be equal with my revenue; and it is just and necessary so to be; for this is a project must be made, and one of the main branches thereof is my house. This project is but to be offered unto you, and how it may be better laid to agree with my honour and contentment ye are to advise upon, and then have my consent. If this cannot be performed without diminishing the number of tables, diminished they must be; and if that cannot serve, two or three must be thrust in one. If the green cloth will not make a project for this, some other must do it; if ye cannot find them out, I must only remember two things—the time must be no more lost, and that there are twenty ways of abatement besides the house, if they be well looked into, and so farewell.

JAMES R.

Prince Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.[1]

Steenie,

I have nothing now to write to you, but to give you thanks both for the good council ye gave me, and for the event of it. The king gave me

[1] This letter, which is curious as exhibiting Buckingham in the light of an accomplice in the prince's intrigues, was surreptitiously obtained by Hearne, from Browne Willis, as appears from a MS. note in a copy of the *Vita Ricardi Secundi*, 1729, in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries.

a good sharp potion, but you took away the working of it by the well relished comfites ye sent after it. I have met with the party that must not be named once already; and the colour[1] of writing this letter shall make me meet with her on Saturday, although it is written the day being Thursday. So assuring you that the business goes safely on, I rest

Your constant, loving friend,

[1618]. CHARLES.

I hope ye will not show the king this letter, but put it in the safe custody of Mister Vulcan.

James I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[2]

My only sweet and dear child, I pray thee haste thee home to thy dear dad by sun-setting at the furthest, and forget not to make Digby give the Spanish ambassador assurance that I will leave nothing undone that I may form with justice and honour, in holding a mild hand upon the papists; only a way must be found to make their complaints come to my ears. But as for my Lady Lake,[3] I must both confess to have pronounced an unjust

[1] Pretence. Middleton and other dramatists use the word in this sense.

[2] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 3.

[3] The singular trial to which this letter alludes originated in a false report set about by Lady Lake and her daughter that there had been an incestuous intercourse between Lord Roos and Frances, the second wife of his grandfather, the Earl of Exeter. Lady Lake produced at the trial a written confession from the countess herself, which the sagacity of the king detected to be a forgery. The Spanish Ambassador interceded for Lady Lake, and hence this characteristic and laconic letter of James on the subject.

sentence and break my promise to my Lady Exeter in a matter of justice, if I grant her any ease at this time; besides, that this cause hath no respect to religion, except the Romish religion be composed of the seven deadly sins; for I dare swear she is guilty of them all. If Spain trouble me with suits of this nature both against my justice and honour, their friendship will be more burdensome than useful unto me, and so Lord send me comfortable and happy with thee this night.

JAMES R.

James I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[1]

My only sweet and dear child,

The Lord of Heaven bless thee this morning and thy thing my daughter;[2] I pray thee, as thou lovest me, make her precisely observe those rules, let her never go in a coach upon the streets, nor never go fast in it. Let your mother keep all hasty news coming to her ears; let her not eat too much fruit, and hasten her out of London after we are gone; if thou be back by four in the afternoon, it will be good time, and prepare thee to be a guard to me, for keeping my back unbroken with business, before my going to the progress; and thus God send me a joyful and happy meeting with my sweet Steenie this evening.

JAMES R.

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[1] Harl. MS. No. 6011, p. 31.

[2] The Duchess of Buckingham, who was *enceinte* at the time this note was written.

James I. to Lord Bacon.[1]

My Lord,

I have received your letter and your book,[2] than which you could not have sent a more acceptable present unto me. How thankful I am for it, cannot better be expressed by me, than by a firm resolution I have taken: first, to read it through with care and attention, and though I should steal some hours from my sleep, having otherwise as little spare time to read it as ye had to write it; and then, use the liberty of a true friend in not sparing to ask you the question in any point whereof I shall stand in doubt: *Nam ejus est explicare, cujus est condere.*

As for the other part, I will willingly give a due commendation to such places as in my opinion shall deserve it. In the mean time, I can with comfort assure you, that ye could not make choice of a subject more befitting your place and your universal and methodic knowledge. And, in the general, I have already observed that ye jump with me in keeping the middle way between the two extremes. *In medio tutissimus ibis;* as also in some particulars, I have found that ye agree fully with my opinion. And so, praying God to give your work as good success as your heart can wish, and your labours deserve, I bid you heartily farewell.

JAMES R.

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[1] Rawlinson MSS. Bodleian Library.

[2] The book in question was the *Novum Organum*, and a nice specimen is this letter of the king's extreme vanity and conceit of his learning. The work itself was published in 1620.

James I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[1]

Alas! sweet heart, thy letter yesternight made my heart so bleed; for God's sake be as wary as thou can with drugs and physicians, for they are but for cases of necessity. I can take no pleasure in Theobald's Park till thou come, and yet the thistle is here, if thy health may permit thee to be here to-morrow night, it will be a great comfort unto me, that thou and thy countess may see me hunt the buck in the park upon Friday next, and if thou show me not all the devices in this park before I go from hence I shall never have comfort in it. I have sent Conway[2] to thee, as thou desired. God ever bless thee and all thine, and send thee health and hearts to the comfort of thy dear dad.

JAMES R.

I have found another tale in the book of the calf like that of the cow.

James I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[3]

Sweet heart, blessing, blessing, blessing on my sweet Tom Badger's heart-roots, and all his, for breeding me so fine a kennel of young hounds, so fair and well shaped, and some of them so fine pretty little ones as

[1] Harl. MS. No. 6011, p. 30.

[2] This letter was probably written in 1620, when Conway returned to England, having been sent as ambassador into Bohemia. He met with very bad success.

[3] Harl. MS. No. 6011, p. 30. Tom Badger was one of the cant names given by James to the Duke of Buckingham.

they are worthy to lie on Steenie and Kate's bed, and all of them run together in a lump both at scent and view; and God thank the master of the horse for providing me such a number of fair useful horses, fit for my hand; in a word I profess, I never was master of such horses and hounds: the bearer will tell you what fine running we had yesterday. Remember now to take the air discreetly, and for God's sake and mine keep thyself very warm, especially thy head and thy shoulders; put thy park of Bewly to an end, and love me still and still, and so God bless thee, and my sweet daughter and god-daughter, to the comfort of thy dear dad.

JAMES R.

Your old purveyor sent thee yesternight six partridges and two leverets. I am now going to hawk the pheasant.

Prince Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.[1]

Steenie,

I have received your despatch by John Cooke, and have acquainted the king with it, who gives you this answer, that, first, he fully approves the course ye have taken, and directions ye have given hitherto; he is likewise of your opinion, that this juggling proceeds from the importunity of the Jesuits[2] and Spanish faction with that king, who would gladly sail between waters, and play unseen of either side: he also fully approves of your

[1] Harl. MS. No. 6011, p. 42.

[2] Who wished James to enter into an arrangement never to punish a Roman Catholic subject, without first communicating with the pope.

opinion for the remedy, for if by no means the troops can be gotten to land in France, without apparent hazarding of them, there is no other safe way but that ye have set down, that they may land in Holland, and so go through the bishop's countries, but not to go near Breda by any means. He thinks it very fit, likewise, that the French king should hire our merchant ships to transport their horse. As for the embargo on the Hamburg ships, whereof the council hath written to his majesty, ye may let them know that he approves that order, only he wishes them to see that it may be to the good satisfaction of the Hamburgers. And, in regard of Mansfeld's juggling, he desires that Secretary Conway may renew a strict commandment in his name to the chief commanders of his subjects in that army, that they may precisely observe those rules already set down unto them. And if Mansfeld would presume to lead them any other way, or do any contrary actions, that rather they leave him wherever they be. To conclude, my father has commanded me to tell you that he is extremely sorry for your late illness, and for, likewise, your delay of coming hither; but he assures himself that ye will not lose an hour of time coming away out of that filthy town, as soon as your pressing occasions will permit you, and that ye may know mischiefs come by planets, and never one single, he has commanded me to tell you that he is as ill-tormented at this time in his right elbow and knee as he was at Cambridge; but he hopes that your coming merrily hither, with the countesses in your company to be his nurses, will make him a hale man again, and he expressly com-

mands you to send him word of the certain day of your remove out of London, and how long ye will stay at Newhall[1] by the way, for he knows ye cannot bring the women out of London hither in a day, and your own house is not a mile or two out of the way, from whence ye bring the king an account of your planting and deer, and of the going on of your new pale. That he is not able to write unto you ye have already heard the occasion. All this the king hath dictated to me. I have only to add, that I am very well, if I had your company; but can enjoy nothing rightly while you be not here, and I do not think ye would be the worse if ye wanted your physic, and had the company of

Your loving, faithful, constant friend,

CHARLES P.

I only speak against your physic; but doubt not but that ye will make as much haste as you may.

James I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[2]

My Sweet Hearty,

I thank thee for thy sweet, kind letter. I have passed the Presidents' Bill, for it is reasonable; as to Holland's suit, I have, according to my custom, put the note in the Master of Requests' hands, and when the party shall be convicted, I will do in it as the worthy of the thing shalt prove, as thou shall advise me. As to the Dunkirk business, my captain of my ship complains of the Hollanders' behaviour; if that prove so, I must

[1] In Essex, a seat of the duke of Buckingham's.

[2] Harl. MS. No. 6011, p. 32. Hearne has printed an extract from this letter in his glossary to Robert of Gloucester.

have reparation of them, or else mend myself; it is thy office to try this. I am glad thou wilt keep thy set day, and I hope ye will not fail to be at Beuley to-morrow, and at thy return, I would have thee to bring all the countesses with thee, I mean both thy wife, thy mother, and thy sister, that our joy may be the more full at our meeting, which God grant, and bless thee and all thine, to the comfort of thy dear dad,

JAMES R.

Thy old purveyor sent thee yesternight, three pheasants, three sucking rabbits, and a fat leveret, all of his own catching.

James I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[1]

My only sweet and dear child,

Thy dear dad sends thee his blessing this morning, and also to his daughter. The Lord of Heaven send you a sweet and blithe wakening, all kind of comfort in your sanctified bed, and bless the fruits thereof, that I may have sweet bedchamber boys to play with me (and this is my daily prayer) sweet hearty, when thy rises keep thee from importunity of people that may trouble thy mind, that at meeting I may see thy white teeth shine upon me, and so bear me comfortable company in my journey; and so God bless thee, hoping thou wilt not forget to read over again my former letter.

JAMES R.

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[1] Harl. MS. No. 6011, p. 32. This letter was written on the occasion of the birth of a daughter to the duke of Buckingham.

Prince Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.[1]

Steenie,

The Lower House this day has been a little unruly; but I hope it will turn to the best; for, before they rose, they began to be ashamed of it. Yet I could wish that the king would send down a commission here, that (if need were) such seditious fellows might be made an example to others, by Monday next, and till then I would let them alone. It will be seen whether they mean to do good, or to persist in their follies; so that the king needs to be patient but a little while.

I have spoken with so many of the council, as the king trusts most, and they are all of his mind, only the sending of authority to set seditious fellows fast is of my adding.[2] I defy thee in being more mine than I am,

Thy constant, loving friend,

Friday, 3rd November, 1621. CHARLES P.

James I. to Lord Cranfield.[3]

My Lord, 21st January, 1621-2.

Shame stayed me from refreshing your memory concerning Buckingham's business upon Sunday last, having so oft and earnestly dealt with you in it before; but now, upon the occasion of his wife's going to London,

[1] Bishop Goodman's History of his own Times, Vol. ii. p. 209-10.

[2] It was this spirit of domination that brought on the Civil Wars. The seed was now sowing, that afterwards produced such a bitter harvest. Charles's spirit of intolerance is here curiously exhibited.

[3] Harl. MS. No. 6011, p. 36. Cranfield was Lord High Treasurer.

his mother put him in mind of preparing things for lying-in, which I, chancing to overhear, I asked earnestly, and conjured him to me the truth of his estate; for ye know how loth he is to do it, and, alas! I find he must pay twenty thousand pounds for his lands at Burghly,[1] and those provisions for her lying-in and meubling[2] are like to cost ten thousand, besides three thousand for his new house, and all this he must borrow....I need say no more; if he once run in arrear, he will ever go backward. Do quickly, therefore, what you are to do for him, and remember a thing done in time is twice done: comfort me with some present good news on this point; for, till then, I protest I can have no joy in the going well of my own business, and so I conclude, either now or never. God bless your labours.

JAMES R.

James I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[3] [1622.]

My sweet, dear child, scholar, and friend,

St. Paul, thou knowest, commands us to examine ourselves before we go to the Sacrament, but yet he commands us to go and receive it; so, though I put thee in mind to speak as thou promised to the Spanish agent, yet did surely expect thy coming hither this night. Thou may make the big, rich man bring him hither to thee, or thou may take occasion to go any

[1] Bewley in other letters. [2] Furnishing.

[3] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 87. The negociations for the Spanish marriage were in progress at the time the present letter was written. The original has no date to it.

day in this week to dine at London, and meet with him there, if he cannot be brought to thee to-morrow morning. Alas, sweet heart, I find by this how precise thou art to keep thy word to me, when thou prefers it to thy own greatest comfort in coming to me; God reward thee for it! But I must quarrel with thee, that though in both my former letters I prayed thee to bring the countesses with thee, thou hast not so much as sent me word whether they can come or not; I would gladly have them here; but, howe'er it be, fail not to be thyself to-morrow, before supper time. And so God bless thee, and all thine, to the comfort of thy dear dad.

JAMES R.

Your old purveyor sends you a kid for your dinner to-morrow, and thou shalt find another here.

James I. to Pope Gregory.[1]

Most Holy Father,

Your holiness will perhaps marvel that we, differing from you in point of religion, should now first salute you with our letters. Howbeit, such is the trouble of our mind for these calamitous discords and bloodsheds, which for these years by-past have so miserably rent the Christian world; and so great is our care and daily solicitude to stop the course of these growing evils betimes (so much as in us lies) as we could no longer abstain, considering that we all worship the same most blessed Trinity, nor hope for salvation by any other means, than

[1] Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

by the blood and merits of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. But we break this silence to move your holiness, by these our letters, friendly and seriously, that you would be pleased, together with us, to put your hand to so pious a work, and so worthy of a Christian prince.

It is truly to be wished, and by all means to be endeavoured, that this mischief creep on no farther; but that these storms at the last ceasing,[1] and the rancour being removed, by the which they were at the first raised, the hearts of these princes whom it in any way concerns may be re-united in a firm and unchangeable friendship, and as much as may be knit together, in stricter obligations than before, one unto another. This we have always had in our desires; and to bring it to pass, have not hitherto spared any labour or pains, not doubting but your holiness, out of your singular piety, and for the credit and authority that you have with the parties, both can and will further this work in an extraordinary manner. In no other way can any man better merit of the state of Christendom; and, if it shall take the desired effect in your days, and by your assistance, your holiness shall worthily reap the glory and reward due to so excellent a work.

That which remains for us further to say concerning this matter, this gentleman, our subject, George Gage, will deliver unto you more at large. Praying you will give him in all things full credence and belief, beseeching

[1] "Men's minds had been much too long and tediously harassed by these commotions abroad, as almost to despair of any finition ever coming to them."—*Taylor's Pasquil*, p. 5.

Almighty God, from our heart, to preserve you in safety, and to grant you all other happiness.

From our palace at Hampton Court, the last of September, 1622.

Prince Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.[1]

Steenie,

This day the Lower House has given the king a subsidy, and are likewise resolved to send a message, humbly to entreat him to end this session before Christmas. I confess that this they have done is not so great a matter, that the king need to be indulgent over them for it; yet, on the other side (for his reputation abroad at this time), I would not wholly discontent them; therefore, my opinion is, that the king should grant them a session at this time, but withal I should have him command them not to speak any more of Spain, whether it be of that war, or my marriage.[2]

This, in my opinion, does neither suffer them to encroach upon the king's authority, nor give them just cause of discontentment. I think you will find that all

[1] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 96.

[2] "It was strangely reported also at this time that the Spaniards had promised a restitution of the palatinate to the prince elector, which gave the king great content. It is possible that he, hearing of the successful proceedings of the late parliament, and how much the English desired war, fearing a greater danger, meant really to have performed that promise; but, hearing that it was dissolved, to the great grief and discontent of the whole kingdom, they grew secure of any great action to be attempted from hence, and so altered their former resolution, for to this day they could never be drawn to any such restitution."—*Harleian MSS.*

those of the council that the king trusts most, are likewise of this mind. Sir Edward Cecil wrote me a letter from the army, of much stuff, but it was of fashion; the most of the letter was of reasons why the king should enter into a war for the defence of the palatinate, and trust no more treaties. But the end of it was, that he might be employed in it. Now, in earnest, I wish the gentleman well, but yet I would not have Sir Horace Vere (who has both endured so much misery, and so good service there) either to be discouraged or disgraced; therefore I think the king shall do well to employ Cecil, but I would not have him come over other's head. So, praying you commend my humble service to the king, I rest,

Yours more than can be expressed, and
as much as can be thought,
CHARLES, P.

James I. to Prince Charles and the Duke.[1]

Sweet boys, February, 1623.

The news of your going is already so blown abroad, as I am forced for your safety to post this bearer[2]

[1] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 5. There is an early copy of this letter in MS. Harl. 6011.

[2] Lord Carlisle. The consternation in England at the sudden and unexpected departure of the prince and Buckingham was extreme, nor was the public anxiety calculated to be subdued by the reports which were spread abroad, among the most mischievous of which was one that he had been inveigled to enter the Roman Catholic church; and, indeed, it will be seen that attempts were not wanting to convert him after he had been some little time in Madrid. James wrote as follows to the king of Spain:—"I have sent you my son, a prince sworn king of Scotland; you may do with his person what you please; the like with myself and my kingdom—they are all at your service. So God keep you!"

after you, who will give you his best advice and attendance in your journey. God bless you both, my sweet babes, and send you a safe and happy return.

JAMES R.

Prince Charles and Buckingham to James I.[1]

Paris, Saturday, February 22nd, 1622-3.

Dear dad and gossip,

We are sure before this, you have longed to have some news from your boys; but before this time we have not been able to send it you; and we do it with this confidence, that you will be as glad to read it as we to write, though it be now our best entertainment. And that we may give the perfecter account, we will begin this where my last ended.

First, about five or six o'clock on Wednesday morning, we wish to say, the first that fell sick was your son, and he that continued it longest was myself. In six hours we got over with as fair a passage as ever men had. We all got so perfectly well, when we but saw land, that we resolved to spend the rest of the day in riding post; and lay at Montreuil, three post off Boulogne. The next day we lay at Breteur, eleven post further; and the next to Paris, being Friday. This day, being Saturday, we rest at Paris, though no great need of it; yet I had four falls by the way, without any harm. Your son's horses stumble as fast as any man's; but he is so much more stronger before than he was. He holds them up by

[1] Transcript in Rawlinson MSS. Buckingham wrote the body of the letter, the prince merely signing his name.

main strength of mastery, and cries still on ! on ! ! on ! ! ! This day we went, he and I alone, to a perriwig-maker, where we disguised ourselves so artificially, that we adventured to see the king. The means how we did compass it was this :—We addressed ourselves to the king's governor, Monsieur du Proes, and he courteously carried us where we saw him our fill. Then we desired Monsieur du Proes to make us acquainted with his son, because we would trouble the old man no longer, which he did ; and then we saw the queen-mother at dinner. This evening his son hath promised us to see the young queen, with her sister and little monsieur. I am sure now you fear we shall be discovered ; but do not fright yourself ; for I warrant you the contrary. And finding this might be done with safety, we had a great tickling to add it to the history of our adventures.[1]

To-morrow, which will be Sunday, we will be (God willing) up so early, that we make no question but to reach Orleans ; and so every day after we mean to be gaining something, till we reach Madrid. I have nothing more to say, but to recommend my poor little wife and daughter to your care, [and] that you will bestow your blessing upon

Your humble and obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

Your humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

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[1] Wotton's account agrees with the account given in this singular letter :—" At Paris, the prince spent one whole day to give his mind some contentment, in viewing of a famous city and court, which was a

Prince Charles and the Marquis of Buckingham while incognito at Paris, to the King.[1]

Sir,

Since the closing of our last, we have been at court again (and that we might not hold you in pain, we assure you we have not been known), where we saw the young queen, little monsieur, and madame, at the practising of a mask[2] that is intended by the queen to be presented to the king; and in it there danced the queen

neighbour to his future estates. But for the better veiling of their visages, his highness and marquis bought each of them a perriwig, somewhat to overshadow their foreheads. Of the king they got a sight after dinner in a gallery, where he was solacing himself with familiar pleasures, and of the queen-mother, as she was at her own table; in neither place descried—no, not by Monsieur Cadinet, who saw them in both, and had been lately ambassador in England. Towards evening, by a mere chance, they had a full sight of the queen infanta, and of the Princess Henrietta Maria, with other great ladies, at the practise of a masquing dance, which was then in preparation."

[1] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 6.

[2] There (at Paris) the prince spent one day to view the city and court, shadowing himself the most he could under a bushy peruque, which none in former times but bald people used, but now generally intruded into a fashion; and the prince's was so big, that it was hair enough for his whole face. The marquis's fair face was shadowed with the same pencil, and they both together saw the queen-mother at dinner, the king in the gallery after dinner, and, towards the evening, they had a full view of the queen infanta and the Princess Henrietta Maria, with most of the beauties of the court, at the practise of a masking dance, being admitted by the duke of Montbason, the queen's Lord Chamberlain in humanity to strangers, when many of the French were put by. There the prince saw those eyes that after inflamed his heart, which increased so much, that it was thought to be the cause of setting three kingdoms on fire; but whether any spark of it did then appear is uncertain. If it did, it was closely raked up till the Spanish fire went out; the heat whereof made him neglect one time till he came to Madrid.—*Wilson's Life of James I.*, 1653, p. 226.

and madame, with as many as made up nineteen fair dancing ladies, amongst which the queen is the handsomest, which hath wrought in me a greater desire to see her sister. So, in haste, going to bed, we humbly take our leaves, and rest,

Your majesty's most humble and
obedient son and servant,
CHARLES.
And your humble slave and dog,
STEENIE.

Paris, the 22nd February, 1622-3.

James I. to Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham.[1]

February 26th, 1622-3.

My sweet boys, and dear venturous knights, worthy to be put in a new romance—

I thank you for your comfortable letters, but, alas, think it not possible that you can be many hours undiscovered, for your parting was so blown abroad that day ye came to Dover, as the French ambassador sent a man presently thither, who found the ports stopped; but yet I durst [not] trust to the bare stopping of the ports, there being so many blind creeks to pass at, and therefore I sent Doncaster to the French king, with a short letter of my own hand to show him that respect, that I may acquaint him with my son's passing unknown through his country; and this I have done for fear that, upon the first rumour of your passing, he should take a pretext to

[1] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 7. There is another copy of it in MS. Harl. 6011,

stop you; and therefore, baby Charles, ye shall do well how soon ye come to . . . . . in Spain, to write a courteous excuse of your hasty passage to the French king, and send a gentleman with it, if by any means ye may spare any. Vacandaire is come from Spain, but brings no news, save that Sam Digby is shortly to be here, with a list of their names, that are to accompany your mistress hither; only Bristol writes an earnest letter, to have more money allowed him for his charges at that solemnity, otherwise, he says, he cannot hasten the consummation of the marriage; but that ye two can best satisfy him in when ye are there. Your household, baby, have taken care to save a good deal of your ordinary charges in your absence. Kirke and Gabriel will carry Georges and garters to you both with speed; but I dare send no jewels of any value to either of you by hand, for fear of robbers, but I will hasten all your company and provisions to you by sea. Noblemen ye will have enow, and too many; Carlisle and Montjoy already gone, Andover goes presently . . . . . and Rocheford by land; Compton goes by sea, and I think Piercy, Arran, and Denbigh go by land. I have settled Sir Francis Crane for my Steenie's business, and I am this day to speak with Folherby, and by my next Steenie shall have an account both of his business and of Kitt's [1] preferment and supply in means; but Sir Francis Crane desires to know if my baby will have him to hasten the making of that suit of tapestry that he commanded him.

I have written three consolatory letters already to

[1] The Duke of Buckingham's brother.

Kate, and received one fine letter from Kate; I have also written one to Sal,[1] but your poor old dad is lamer than ever he was, both of his right knee and foot, and writes all this out of his naked bed.[2] God almighty bless you both, my sweet boys, and send you a safe happy return. But I must command my baby to hasten Steenie home, how soon ye can be assured of the time of your coming home with your mistress, for without his presence things cannot be prepared here; and so God bless you again and again.

JAMES R.

Tell Cottington I have done as he desired concerning his wife.

James I. to Prince Charles and the Duke.

February 28, 1623.

My sweet boys,

Yesterday I wrote an answer to your letters by young Bowie, whom I sent because I know he will be quickly with you, and my baby may either make use of his service there, or when he had use to make a quick despatch, I know none can carry swifter than he; and this day I write these by Andover, who goes by land, because he says, he is not able to go by sea, but the imperfect note that my baby left under his hands of his ser-

[1] Sal was the duke's sister, and Kate was his wife.

[2] "Naked bed," a quaint phrase in common use at this time, merely meaning that he was undressed and in bed. Night linen was not used in the middle ages, and hence, no doubt, the origin of the term, which occurs in Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis," and most contemporary works.

[3] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 8, and MS. Harl. 6011.

vants that should follow him, hath put me to a great deal of pain, for ye left some necessary servants out in the opinion of your principal officers, and when as I was forced to add those, then every man ran upon me for his friends, so as I was torn in pieces amongst them; but now, either this bearer Sir Robert Cave will bring you the whole of your servants that are to go. And now, Steenie, according to my promise, I took a full account of your affairs yesterday from Fotherby; to be short, he hath promised to lose no time, both about the three Forrests and Sedgemor, in which last I have obtained a sentence in the end of this last term; but he is of that mind to make money of them all for payment of your debts, and buying of more land for you near Beaulie. I have lately signed divers quillets of land for you in exchange, for which, he says, ye receive eighteen thousand pounds in money; he will reduce the charges of your table, to my allowance, till your return; and he is now gone to despatch Kitt's business with the Lord Treasurer, and to think upon course for paying the Lord President of his ten thousand pounds. I have commanded him to come boldly to me whenever he hath occasion for any of your business, for I have taken the charge of them upon me. I have no more, but that I wear Steenie's picture in a blue ribbon, under my wash-coat next my heart; and so God bless you both, and send you a joyful and happy return.[1] JAMES R.

From Newmarket, the last of February.

[1] The following anecdote is worth recording:—"I'll tell you a jest. The Bishop of London, you know, gave order from his majesty to the clergy

James I. to Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham.[1]

My sweet boys,

I wrote to you the penult of February by Bowy, and the last thereof by Andover; and now this second of March being Sunday, I write this by Sir Robert Carr, who will fully inform my baby what order his officers have taken in his affairs. Three ships are promised to be made ready within fifteen days for transporting your men and jewels; for, as I wrote to you before, I durst not hazard your jewels by land, and four ships I durst not hazard for fear of pirates; I shall spur them daily till they be gone; but, poor Steenie and sweet gossip, thou hast left no order for any of thy men to follow; so, as I know not what to do in that case, as ever it be, God bless you both, my sweet boys, and send you a happy journey, and a comfortable and happy return to your dear

JAMES R.

2nd March, 1622-3.

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not to prejudicate the prince's journey in their prayers, but only to pray God to return him home in safety again unto us, and no more. An honest plain preacher, being loth to transgress the order given, desired in his prayer, 'that God would return our noble prince home in safety again to us, and no more;' supposing the words no more to be a piece of the prayer enjoined, whereas the bishop's meaning was they should use no more words, but that form only."—*Harleian Manuscripts.*

[1] Harl. MS. No. 6011, p. 18.

A Poem, made by King James upon the Voyage of his son Charles and the Marquis of Buckingham into Spain, March 1622.[1]

What sudden change hath darked of late
The glory of the Arcadian state?
The fleecy flocks refuse to feed,
The lambs to play, the ewes to breed;
The altars smoke, the offerings burn,
Till Jack and Tom do safe return.

The Spring neglects her course to keep,
The air with mighty storms doth weep;
The pretty birds disdain to sing,
The meads to swell, the woods to spring;
The mountains drop, the fountains mourn,
Till Jack and Tom do safe return.

What may it be that moves this woe?
Whose want affects Arcadia so?
The hope of Greece, the prop of arts,
Was princely Jack, the joy of hearts!
And Tom was to our royal Pan
The chiefest swain, and truest man.

The lofty trees of Menalus
Did shake with wind from Hesperus,

[1] This curious poem, highly illustrative of the remarkable journey to which the correspondence now printed alludes, is taken from a Rawlinson MS. in the Bodleian Library. The prince and duke travelled under the assumed names of John and Thomas Smith.

Whose sweet delicious air did fly
Through all the bounds of Arcadie,
Which moved a vein in Jack and Tom,
To see the coast it issued from.

The wind was Love, which princes stout
To pages turn; but who can doubt,
Where equal fortune love procures,
And equal love success assures,
But venturous Jack will bring to Greece
The best of prize, the golden fleece.

Love is a world of many Spains,
Where coldest hills and hottest plains,
With barren rocks and fertile fields
By turns despair and comfort yields;
But who can doubt of prosperous luck,
Where love and fortune doth conduct?

Thy grandsire, godsire, father too,
Were thine examples so to do;
Their brave attempts in heat of love,
France, Scotland, Denmark, did approve.
So Jack and Tom do nothing new,
When love and fortune they pursue.

Kind shepherds that have loved them long,
Be not too rash in censuring wrong;
Correct your fears, leave off to mourn,
The heavens shall favour their return!
Commit the care to royal Pan,
Of Jack his son, and Tom his man.

The Prince and Duke to King James.[1]

Dear Dad and Gossip,

We are now got into Spain,[2] free from harm of falls, in as perfect health as when we parted, and undiscovered by any Monsieur. We met Gresly a post beyond Bayonne. We saucily opened your letters, and found nothing either in that or any other, which we could understand without a cipher, that hath made us repent our journey; but, by the contrary, we find nothing but particulars hastened, and your business so slowly advanced, that we think ourselves happy that we have begun it so soon; for yet the temporal articles are not concluded, nor will not be, till the dispensation comes, which may be, God knows when; and when that time shall come, they beg twenty days to conceal it, upon pretext of making preparations: this bearer's errand was answered by our journey thither, yet we have thought it fit he should go forward to bring you certain news of your boys, that crave your blessing, and rests

Your majesty's humble and obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

And your humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

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[1] MS. Harl. 6987, Art. 10.

[2] "From the prince his highness and my lord marquis of Buckingham, I presume your majesty will now be advertised of their safe arrival here on the 7th of this month. I shall, therefore, only add that there hath neither appeared in the prince or my lord any indisposition after so long a voyage, or so much as weariness. Yesterday my lord marquis had private audience with this king, and was met in a place near the palace,

Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham to King James.[1]

March 10th, 1622-3.

Dear dad and gossip,

On Friday last we arrived here, at five o'clock at night, both in perfect health; the cause that we advertised you of it no sooner was, that we knew you would be glad to hear as well of the manner of our reception, as of our arrival. First we resolved to discover the wooer, because, upon the speedy opening of the ports, we found posts making such haste after us, that we knew it would be discovered within twelve hours after, and better we have the thanks of it than a postillion. The next morning we sent for Gondemar, who went presently to the Condé of Olivares, and as speedily got me your dog

which they call the Park, by the Condé of Olivares, who came into the coach unto my lord, and spent an hour with him."—*Letter of Sir W. Aston, Manuscripts in Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.* Sir Walter accompanied the earl of Bristol to Madrid in 1620.

[1] MS. Harl. 6987, Art. 11.

[2] "The prince's coming hither seemed not so strange as acceptable and pleasing to all. 'The common sort expressed it by extraordinary shouts and acclamations of joy; offering and marrying the infanta (as it were) presently by public voice, as having won and truly deserved her by so brave an adventure. The king and state studied how to do him all the honour that might be. The first decree that the council of state made was, that at all occasions of meetings he should have the precedency of the king; that he should make entry into the palace in the form of state, as the kings of Spain do on the first day of their coronation; that he should have one of the chief quarters of the king's house for his lodging, one hundred of the guard to attend him, all the council to obey him as the king's own person. All prisoners were released: the new proclamation against excess in apparel revoked, and sundry other arguments of joy. But a wonder lasteth not but for nine days."—*Contemporary Letter in the Rawlinson Manuscripts.*

Steenie a private audience of the king; when I was to return back to my lodgings, the Condé of Olivares himself alone would accompany me back again to salute the prince in the king's name. The next day we had a private visit of the king, the queen, the infanta, don Carlos, and the cardinal, in the sight of all the world, and I may call it a private obligation hidden from nobody; for there was the pope's nuncio, the emperor's ambassador, the French, and all the streets filled with guards and other people: before the king's coach went the best of the nobility, after followed all the ladies of the court: we sat in an invisible coach, because nobody was suffered to take notice of it, though seen by all the world. In this form they passed three times by us; but, before we could get away, the Condé of Olivares came into our coach and conveyed us home, where he told us the king longed and died for want of a nearer [sight] of our wooer. First, he took me in his coach to go to the king; we found him walking in the street, with his cloak thrown over his face, and a sword and buckler by his side; he leaped into the coach, and away he came to find the wooer in another place appointed, where there passed much kindness and compliment one to another. You may judge by this how sensible the king is of your son's journey; and if we can either judge by outward shows, or general speeches, we have reason to condemn your ambassadors for rather writing too sparingly than too much.

To conclude, we find the Condé Olivares so overvaluing of our journey, that he is so full of real courtesy,

that we can do no less than beseech your majesty to write the kindest letter of thanks and acknowledgment you can unto him: he said, no later to us than this morning, that, if the pope would not give a dispensation for a wife, they would give the infanta to thy son's baby, as a wench; and hath this day written to the cardinal Ludovico, the pope's nephew, that the king of England hath put such an obligation upon this king, in sending his son hither, that he intreats him to make haste of the dispensation, for he can deny him nothing that is in his kingdom. We must hold you thus much longer to tell you, the pope's nuncio works as maliciously and as actively as he can against us, but receives such rude answers, that we hope he will be soon weary on't: we make this collection[1] of it, that the pope will be very loath to grant a dispensation, which, if he will not do, then we would gladly have your directions how far we may engage you in the acknowledgment of the pope's special power; for we almost find, if you will be contented to acknowledge the pope chief head under Christ, that the match will be made without him. So, craving your blessing, we rest

Your majesty's humble and obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

Your humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.[2]

Madrid, the 10th of March, 1623.

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[1] Conclusion.

[2] This letter is addressed, "For the best of fathers and masters."

James I. to the Prince and Duke.[1]

My sweet boys,

God bless you for the welcome cordial that [was] brought me from you yesterday. The Spanish ambassador and Boischotte, from the archduchess, are now agreed with me for the depositing Frankendale in the king of Spain and archduchess's hands, without any mention of my treating with the emperor, for that cannot now be done with my honour, he having thrice broken all his promises unto me; all the other conditions are very reasonable, but there is a whispering still that the king of Spain would have a match between my grandchild and the emperor's daughter; but if either that way, or any other, this business be brought to a good end, it must now be done by the king of Spain's mediation betwixt the emperor and me, whom he hath so far wronged and neglected, whereas before I did mediate between the emperor and my son-in-law. As to my baby's own business, I find by Bristol's ciphered letter two points like to be stuck at, that ye must labour to

[1] MS. Harl., 6987, art. 14. It may not be amiss to give in this place Buckingham's description of the infanta, which is contained in a letter of the same date:—"The chiefest advertisement of all we omitted in our other letter, which was to let you know how we like your daughter, his wife, and my lady mistress: without flattery, I think there is not a sweeter creature in the world. Baby Charles is himself so touched at the heart, that he confesses all he ever yet saw is nothing to her, and swears, that if he want her, there shall be blows. I shall lose no time in hastening their conjunction, in which I shall please him, her, you, and myself, most of all, in thereby getting liberty to make the speedier haste to lay myself at your feet; for never none longed more to be in the arms of his mistress."

help by all the means ye can. The one is a long delay of finishing the marriage; for that point I doubt not but you will spur it on fast enough; for though there is no other inconvenience in it but the danger of your life, by the coming of the heats, I think they have reason there, if they love themselves, to wish you and yours rather to succeed unto me than my daughter and her children; but for this point, I know my sweet gossip Steenie will spur and gall them as fast as he did the post-horses in France. The other point is, that they would, if not lessen, at least protract the terms for payment of the dowry; this were a base thing, and a breach of their promise made many years ago, which the Condé of Godemar, I am sure, will bear witness unto me; and if your travel thither have not earned it, as they say, God send that it [n]ever do me or you good. I hear they there would be at a general peace, and comprehend also the low countries; for my part, so that the business of the palatinate were at a good end, I wish it were so; but if the business of your match be once fully concluded, I would be glad, sweet gossip, that ye feel their pulse anent[1] the thing ye know concerning Holland,[2] which will be fittest for you to sound, being my admiral; but I am ashamed to tell you, by the way, how many prizes belonging to you your knavish and unthankful sea-captains have meddled with, and shared amongst themselves, which are not so few as three or four, as John Coote informs me; but within few days ye shall, with God's grace, have a good account

[1] Concerning; regarding.

[2] This must have been some hostile act against the Dutch.

of that business. In the mean time, I have fully satisfied the French ambassador of my baby's care to discharge honestly his promise unto him. I send this post in haste for preparing and facilitating the passage from the coast of Spain to the court thereof for my baby's servants and baggage, my ship being now ready to make sail; and yet will I write with her again within two or three days, with grace of God, this being the sixth letter I have written to you two, five to Kate, and two to Sue, and one to my mother Steenie, and all with my own hand. And thus, God bless you both, my sweet boys, and grant you, after a successful journey, a happy and joyful return to your dear dad.

JAMES R.

Newmarket, the 15th of March, 1622-3.

James I. to the Prince and Duke.[1]

My sweet boys,

I write this now, my seventh letter, unto you upon the 17th of March, sent in my ship called the Adventure,[2] to my two boy-adventurers, whom God ever bless. And now to begin with *Jove principium*, I have sent you my baby, two of your chaplains fittest for this purpose, Mawe and Wrenn, together, with all stuff

[1] MS. Harl. 6987, Art. xv.

[2] This vessel did not sail till the beginning of April. See a curious account printed in Hearne's Richard II., 1729. Lord Carey, the prince's chamberlain, was the principal person sent in this ship, and had, as he says in his diary, "a large commission made me for the government, and to keep in order those who went with me."

and ornaments fit for the service of God. I have fully instructed them, so as all their behaviour and service shall, I hope, prove decent, and agreeable to the purity of the primitive church, and yet as near the Roman form as can lawfully be done, for it hath ever been my way to go with the church of Rome *usque ad aras*. All the particulars hereof I remit to the relation of your before-named chaplains. I send you also your robes of the order, which ye must not forget to wear on St. George's day, and dine together in them, if they can come in time, which I pray God they may, for it will be a goodly sight for the Spaniards to see my two boys dine in them. I send you also the jewels as I promised, some of mine and such of yours, I mean both of you, as are worthy the sending, ay, or my Baby's presenting his mistress; I send him an old double cross of Lorrain, not so rich as ancient, and yet not contemptible for the value; a good looking-glass with my picture in it, to be hung at her girdle, which ye must tell her ye have caused it to so be enchanted by art magic, that whensoever she shall be pleased to look in it, she shall see the fairest lady that either her brother or your father's dominions can afford; ye shall present her with two fair long diamonds, set like an anchor, and a fair pendent diamond hanging at them; ye shall give her a goodly rope of pearls, ye shall give a carquanet[1] or collar, thirteen great ballas rubies, and thirteen knots or conques of pearls, and ye shall give her a head-dressing of two and twenty great pear pearls; and ye shall give her

[1] A necklace.

three goodly pear pendent diamonds, whereof the biggest to be worn at a needle on the midst of her forehead, and one in every ear; and for my Baby's own wearing, ye have two good jewels of your own, your round broach of diamonds, and your triangle diamond with the great round pearl; and I send you for your wearing the three brethren, that ye know full well, but newly set, and the mirror of France, the fellow of the Portugal diamond, which I would wish you to wear alone in your hat, with a little black feather; ye have also good diamond buttons of your own, to be set to a doublet or jerkin. As for your first, it may serve for a present to a Don. As for thee, my sweet gossip, I send thee a fair table diamond, which I would once have given thee before, if thou would have taken it, for wearing in thy hat, or where thou pleases; and if my Baby will spare thee the two long diamonds in form of an anchor, with the pendent diamond, it were fit for an admiral to wear, and he hath enough better jewels for his mistress, though he is of thine own thy good old jewel, thy three pindars diamonds, the picture case I gave Kate, and the great diamond chain I gave her, who would have sent thee the least pin she had, if I had not stayed her. If my Baby will not spare the anchor from his mistress, he may well lend thee his round broach to wear, and yet he shall have jewels to wear in his hat for three great days.

And now for the form of my Baby's presenting of his jewels to his mistress, I leave that to himself, with Steenie's advice, and my Lord of Bristol's, only I would not have them presented all at once, but at the more

sundry times the better, and I would have the rarest and richest kept hindmost. I have also sent four other crosses, of meaner value, with a great pointed diamond in a ring, which will save charges in presents to Dons, according to their quality; but I will send with the fleet divers other jewels for presents, for saving charges, whereof we have too much need; for till my Baby's coming away, there will be no need of giving presents to any but to her.

Thus you see, how, as long as I want the sweet comfort of my boys' conversation, I am forced, yea, and delight to converse with them by long letters. God bless you both, my sweet boys, and send you, after a successful journey, a joyful happy return in the arms of your dear dad,

JAMES R.

From Newmarket on St. Patrick's Day, who, of old, was too well patronized in the country you are in.

March 17th, 1623.

The Prince and Duke to James I.[1]

Dear dad and gossip,

That your majesty may be the more particularly informed of all, we will observe our former order to begin still where we left, which was, we think, at the king's private visit in the night.[2] The next day your baby desired to

[1] MS. Harl. 6987, Art. xvi.

[2] Wilson thus relates this circumstance:—"About ten of the clock that night, the King of Spain came in a close coach to visit the prince, who having intimation of his coming, such secret hints among princes

kiss his hands privately in the palace, which was granted, and thus performed. First, the king would not suffer him to come to his chamber, but met him at the stair-foot; then entered into the coach, and walked into his park. The greatest matter that passed between them, at that time, was compliments, and particular questions of our journey; then, by force, he would needs carry him half way home, in which doing, they were both almost overthrown in brick-pits. Two days after, we met with his majesty again in his park, with his two brothers; they spent their time in seeing his men kill partridges flying, and conies running with a gun. Yesterday, being Sunday, your baby went to a monastery called St. Jeronimo's, to dinner, which stands a little out of the town. After dinner came all the councillors in order, to welcome your baby; then came the king himself, with all his nobility, and made their entry with as great triumph as could be, where he forced your baby to ride on his right hand, which he observes always. This entry was made just as when the Kings of Castile come first to the crown: all prisoners set at liberty, and no office or matters of grace falls, but is put in your baby's hands to dispose.

We trouble your majesty more particularly with these

being suitable invitements, he met him in the way, and there they spent some time in those sweet yet formal caresses and embraces that are incident to the interviews of great princes, though their hearts and tongues do seldom accord. Gondemar in consort was not without his strain of compliment, for he told the prince upon a visit next day, that he had strange news to tell him; which was, that an Englishman was sworn a privy-councillor to the King of Spain, meaning himself, who he said was an Englishman in heart, and had lately received that honour."

things of ceremony, that you may be better able to guide yourself towards this nobleman, who is sent of purpose to advertise you of your son's safe arrival here, for sooner than he was received in the palace, they took no notice of his coming. We had almost forgotten to tell you, that the first thing they did at their arrival into the palace was the visiting of the queen, where grew a quarrel between your baby and lady, for want of a salutation; but your dog's opinion is, that this is an artificial forced quarrel, to beget hereafter the greater kindness.

For our main and chief business, we find them by outward shows as desirous of it as ourselves, yet are they hankering upon a conversion; for they say, there can be no friendship without union in religion, but put no question in bestowing their sister, and we put the other quite out of question, because neither our conscience nor time serves for it, and because we will not implicitly rely upon them. For fear of delays (which we account the worst denial), we intend to send, with all speed, Michael Andrew, to come to bring us certain word from Gage, how he finds our business prosper there, according to which we will guide ourselves. Yet ever resolving to guide ourselves by your directions, so craving your blessing we end.

Your majesty's humble son and servant,

CHARLES.

[1] I beseech your majesty advise as little with your council in these businesses as you can. I hope in

[1] This, as well as the date, is in the prince's own hand.

writing jointly as we do, we please you best, for I assure your majesty, it is not for saving pains. This king did intreat me to send your majesty a great *recantho* in his name (which is a compliment), for which, in my poor opinion, it will not be amiss for your majesty to write him a letter of thanks for all the favours he has done me since I came hither, with that of the Condé of Olivares. CHARLES.

Your majesty's humble slave and dog,

Madrid, the 17th of March, 1623. STEENIE.

Prince Charles to James I.[1]

Dear dad and gossip,

Since the writing of our other letter we have received news from Rome, which we send you here inclosed; you will find Gage hath a good hope of soon affecting the dispensation: we think our sending Michael Andrew thither will do no hurt. We are glad this paper gives us room to quarrel [with] you for not sending to us all this while, for though we hear often from you by reports, yet nothing can satisfy except we have it under your own hand; therefore we beseech you to do it as oft as you can. So craving your blessing, we end

Your majesty's humble and obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

Your majesty's humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

Madrid, the 18th of March, 1623.

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[1] Harl. MS. No. 6011, p. 11

Prince Charles to James I.[1]

Dear dad and gossip,

The post hath been delayed these three days, and should he be as many more, you should have every day a letter. This morning your dog Steenie hath been with the Condé of Olivarez, where was concluded that no time should be lost in preparing all things ready for our journey homewards, as if the dispensation was already come, wherefore it is fitting that no time should be spared in setting forward the ships, which we desire may be well chosen, because we think the king, queen, and all his court will see them. But once again we beseech you that there be no delays of our side, and by the next send us word how soon they will be ready. It's time now that you advertise my father, Rutland, that you intend him admiral of fleet. Thus craving your blessings, we rest

Your majesty's humble and obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

Your majesty's humble slave and dog,

Madrid, 25th of March, 1623. STEENIE.

James I. to the Prince and Duke.[2]

My sweet boys,

God bless you both, and reward you for the comfortable news I received from you yesterday (which was my coronation[3] day), in place of tilting; and God

[1] Harl. MS. No. 6011, p. 11. [2] MS. Harl. 6987, Art. xx.

[3] Not the day of his coronation, but that on which he ascended the throne, and the anniversary of Elizabeth's death.

bless thee, my sweet gossip, for thy little letter, all full of comfort. I have written a letter to the Condé d'Olivares, as both of you desired me, as full of thanks and kindness as can be devised, and indeed he well deserves; but in the end of your letter ye put in a cooling card,[1] anent the nuncio's averseness to this business, and that thereby ye collect that the pope will likewise be averse; but first ye must remember that in Spain they never put doubt of the granting of the dispensation—that themselves did set down the spiritual conditions. These things may justly be laid before them; but I know not what ye mean by my acknowledging the pope's spiritual supremacy. I am sure ye would not have me renounce my religion for all the world; but all that I can guess at your meaning is, that it may [be] ye have an allusion to a passage in my book against Bellarmine, where I offer, if the pope would quit his godhead, and usurping over kings, to acknowledge him for the chief bishop, to which all appeals of churchmen ought to lie *en dernier resort*, the very words I send you here inclosed,[2] and that is the farthest my conscience will permit me to go upon this point; for I am not a monsieur that can shift

[1] A cooling card is some bad news, such that will cool the other intelligence. The expression occurs in Shakespeare.

[2] "And for myself, if that were yet the question, I would, with all my heart, give my consent that the bishop of Rome should have the first seat. I, being a western king, would go with the patriarch of the west; and for his temporal principality over the signiory of Rome, I do not quarrel it neither. Let him, in God's name, be *primus episcopus inter omnes episcopos, et princeps episcoperum*; so it be no otherwise but as St. Peter was *princeps apostolorum*." This is the passage alluded to in the text. The "book against Bellarmine" was printed in 1616.

his religion as easily as he can shift his shirt, when he cometh from tennis.

I have no more to say in this; but God bless you, my sweet Baby, and send him good fortune in his wooing, to the comfort of his old father, who cannot be happy but in him. My ship is ready to make sail, and only stays for a fair wind. God send it her; but I have, for the honour of England, curtailed the train that goes by sea of a number of rascals. And, my sweet Steenie gossip, I must tell thee that Kate was a little sick within these four or five days of a headache, and the next morning, after a little casting, was well again. I hope it is a good sign that I shall shortly be a gossip[1] over again, for I must be thy perpetual gossip; but the poor fool Kate hath, by importunity, gotten leave of me to send thee both her rich chains; and this is now the eighth letter I have written for my two boys, and six to Kate.[2] God send me still more and more comfortable

[1] Godfather. James was godfather to Buckingham's first child.

[2] A letter from the duchess of Buckingham to James acknowledges in grateful terms the king's kindnesses to her:—"Your gracious favours to me are so infinite, that I can never express my thankfulness to your majesty for them in words; which, though I cannot do it that way, yet there is none has a thankfuller heart to your majesty than myself. And besides your command that I should be merry, I have a great deal of cause to be so, to see how firm your majesty's affection is to my lord now in his absence; it is a great comfort to me to see it, and that your majesty's care is as great of him now as ever it was; and at this time he is much bound to your majesty, that you have been pleased to get him this two thousand pounds, and I will not fail to let my lord know of it in my next letters to him."—*MSS. in Advocates' Library, Edinburgh.* This document is not dated, but I suspect it was written after this period, perhaps in August. There is a letter from James to the duke of Buckingham on the subject of the two thousand pounds, in MS. Harl. 6987.

news of you both, till I may have a joyful, comfortable, and happy meeting with you; and that my Baby may bring home a fair lady with him, as this is written upon our Lady-day.

25th of March, 1623. JAMES R.

The Prince and Duke to James I.[1]

Dear dad and gossip, March 27, 1623.

According to our promise in our last, we write to you this day again, for our post is not yet parted; and that this may not altogether be empty, we think it not amiss to assure you, that neither in spiritual nor temporal things there is anything prest upon us more than is already agreed upon. Fain would they, in this time of expecting the dispensation, have treated upon the ends and effects of friendship; but we have avoided it with so many forcible arguments, that they now rest satisfied. They were likewise in hope of a conversion of us both; but now excuses are more studied than reasons for it, though they say their loves shall ever make them wish it. To conclude, we never saw the business in a better way than now it is; therefore we humbly beseech you lose no time in hasting the ships, that we may make the more haste to beg that personally which now we do by letter—your blessing.

Your majesty's humble and obedient
son and servant,
CHARLES.

Your majesty's humble slave and dog,
STEENIE.

Madrid.

[1] MS. Harl. 6987, Art. 22.

James I. to Prince Charles and the Duke.[1]

My sweet boys, 1st April, 1623.

I hope before this time ye are fully satisfied with my diligent care in writing unto you upon all occasions, but I have better cause to quarrel with you, that ye should have ever been in doubt of my often writing unto you, especially as long as ye saw no post nor creature was come from me but Michael Andrew; and yet by Carlisle, in whose company he parted from me, I wrote my first letter unto you. And I wonder also why ye should ask me the question, if ye should [write] me any more joint letters or not? Alas! sweethearts, it is all my comfort in your absence that ye write jointly unto me, besides the great ease it is both to me and you; and ye need not doubt but I will be wary enough in not acquainting my council with any secret in your letters. But I have been troubled with Hamilton, who being present, by chance, at my receiving both of your first and second packet out of Madrid, would needs peer over my shoulder when I was reading them, offering ever to help me to read any hard words; and, in good faith, he is in this business, as in all things else, as variable and uncertain as the moon. But the news of your glorious reception there makes me afraid that ye will both misken[2] your old dad hereafter; but in earnest, my baby, ye must be as sparing as ye can in your spending there, for your officers are already put to the height of their speed with providing the five thousand pounds by exchange; and now your tilting stuff, which they know

[1] MS. Harl. 6987, Art. 24. [2] To disown, to despise.

not how to provide, will come to three more: and God knows how my coffers are already drained. I know no remedy, except ye procure the speedy payment of that hundred and fifty thousand pounds which was once promised to be advanced, which my sweet gossip, that is now turned Spaniard with his golden key, will be fittest to labour in, who shall have a fine ship to go thither with all speed for bringing him home to his dear dad. But I pray you, my baby, take heed of being hurt if ye run at tilt. As for Steenie, I hope thou wilt come back before that time, for I hope my baby will be ready to come away before the horses can be there well rested, and all things ready for running at tilt; which must be my baby's parting blow, if he can have leisure to perform it there. I pray you, in the mean time, keep yourselves in use of dancing privately, though ye should whistle and sing one to another, like Jack and Tom, for fault of better music.

As for the main business, I hope the dispensation will come speedily and well; if other ways, ye must put the king bravely to it, as I wrote in my last unto you; for the archduchess's ambassador here says, that my son's going there in this fashion hath obliged that king, in honour, to bestow his sister upon him, whether the dispensation come or not: and there are numbers of Catholic Romans and Protestants married in the world, without the pope's dispensation. This the Baron de Boischot said to myself.

I send you, according to your desire, a letter of thanks to that king, which, my sweet Steenie, thou shalt deliver unto him in my name, with all the best compliments

thou can; and when thou wants, Carlisle can best instruct thee in that art; and I have sent a letter for the Condé d'Olivares in the last packet. And thus God keep you, my sweet boys, with my fatherly blessing: and send you a happy, successful journey, and a joyful happy return in the arms of your dear dad.

JAMES R.

From Theobalds, the 1st of April.

James I. to Prince Charles and the Duke.[1]

My sweet boys,

The Spanish ambassador let a word fall to Grislie, as if there would be some question made, that my baby's chaplains should not do their service in the king's palace there; but he concluded that that business would be soon accommodated. Always, in case any such difficulty should be stucken at, ye may remember[2] them that it is an ill preparation for giving the infanta free exercise of her religion here, to refuse it to my son there, since their religion is as odious to a number here, as ours is there; and if they will not yield, then, my sweet baby, show yourself not to be ashamed of your profession, but go sometimes to my ambassador's house and have your service there, that God and man may see ye are not ashamed of your religion.

But I hope in God this shall not need. And so, God bless you, my sweet boys; and after a happy success, return and light in the arms of your dear dad.

From Whitehall, the 7th of April. JAMES R.

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[1] Harleian MSS., British Museum.

[2] Remind.

James I. to the Prince and Duke.[1]

My sweet boys, April 10, 1623.

God ever bless, and thank you for your last so comfortable letters: it is an ease now that I am sure you have received some of my letters. As for the fleet that should, with God's grace, bring my baby home, they are in far greater readiness than you could have believed, for they will be ready to make sail before the 1st of May, if need were; and the smallest six, besides the two that go for Steenie, are between five and six hundred tons: their names and burden Dick Grame shall bring you, who is to follow two days hence; it is therefore now your promise to advertise by the next post how soon ye would have them to make sail, for the charge and trouble will be infinite, if their equipage stay long aboard, consuming victuals, and making the ships to stink. My gossip shall come home in the George, and the Antelope wait upon him, and of their readiness Dick Grame will bring you word. The treasurer[2] likewise made that money ready, which my baby desired. I must bear him witness, he spares not to engage himself, and all he is worth, for the business.

JAMES R.

James I. to Prince Charles, and Buckingham.[3]

My sweet boys, I send you now the first sea-captain of our admiral's choice, who I hope shall ever prove

[1] MSS. Harl. 6987, art. 31. [2] Cranfield earl of Middlesex.
[3] MS. Harleian, 6987, art. 33.

worthy of such a patron. I begin now to long sore to hear more news from you, for this is the eleventh day since your last packet came to my hands: my baby shall receive his tilting stuff now bravely set forth, and fit for a wooer, but in good faith the weather will be so hot there, before you can use it, that I would wish rather to forbear it, for I fear my baby may take fever by it, and my Steenie gossip must be coming home before the horses can be ready to run. My sweet baby, for God's sake, and your dad's, put not yourself in hazard by any violent exercises, long as ye are there. I am presently to go in hand with the providing of jewels, which I hope shall save him a good deal of money in the mean time, because my gossip is to come away in this ship. I send him six jewels [1] to give in presents there, at his parting, and my baby shall have his with the fleet, for sooner than at his parting he is not to give presents to any but to his mistress. How to dispose of those six I leave it to thy discretion, my Steenie, but the watch is the richest and fittest for some old lady in my opinion, but the ring is far the noblest. And thus, God bless you, my sweet boys, and after a happy success there, send you comfortably and happily back again, (every one in his own time) in the arms of your dear dad. JAMES R.

Windsor, the 18th of April, (1623)

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[1] "I have even now made choice of the jewels that I am to send you, whereof my baby is to present some to his mistress, and some of the best he is to wear himself, and the next best he will lend to my bastard brat to wear."—Letter of James I. printed by Goodman. The "bastard brat" was the duke of Buckingham.

James I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[1]

My sweet Steenie gossip.—The bearer hereof had so great a longing to see you, as I was forced to give him leave in my former letter to tell you that the Star Chamber process being ready for Oxford,[2] my attorney told me it was fit he should be set at liberty, how soon the process were served upon him, but the lord treasurer, coming to Newmarket, advised me rather to suspend the process, than let him out before the return of my baby, except, quoth he, ye would provide a ringleader for the mutineers, which advice I followed. Your bay Spanish mare, with the black mane and tail, hath an exceeding fair and fine horse-foal of ten days old, just of her own colour, but he hath the far foot white, and there is another of them ready to foal. God send my sweet baby the like luck with his Spanish breed, before this time twelvemonth. Thus hoping that ye will give a good advice to the bearer hereof to lead a good life in times coming, I pray the Lord send my sweet Steenie gossip a happy and comfortable return in the arms of his dear dad. JAMES R.

Kitte is now an earl, and hath also the patent of his land; thus was thou born in a happy hour for all thy kin.

From Windsor, the 18th of April, (1623.)

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[1] MS. Harl. 6987, art 32.

[2] The Earl of Oxford was committed to the Tower in 1621, for suspected treason against the government.

Prince Charles to the Pope.[1]

20th April, 1623.

Your holiness' letters I have received with no less gratitude and reverence, than that feeling of uncommon good will and piety demanded, wherewith I know they have been indited. And that exhortation from your holiness has been to me especially welcome, that you have set before me the examples of my ancestors, which can never be sufficiently commended for my inspection and imitation. They, although they encountered the difficulty of various fortunes, and the danger of life itself, that they might more widely propagate the Christian faith; yet never did they carry the standard of Christ's cross against his most violent enemies with a more cheerful spirit, than I will use all aid and endeavour, that the peace and unity of the Christian commonwealth, which hath been so long banished, may be brought back, returning, as it were, from captivity or the grave; for, since the subtlety and malice of the father of discords hath sown the seeds of such unhappy differences among those who profess the Christian religion, this measure I deem most necessary, in order to promote more successfully the

[1] MS. Lansdowne, 1236, art. 1. translated from the Latin. An early antiquated translation occurs in MS. Harl. 295, art. 106. This letter is a curious example of the power of circumstances over the mind in matters of faith, when religion has made no impression of fervour for a particular sect. Wilson says, "it seems he had either a good will to write this letter, or a bad counsel to indite it, or both conjoined, that were as careful to please the pope as they were hopeful it would never come to see the light till the flame of it would be too visible."

hallowed glory of God and our Saviour, his Christ; and I shall esteem it no less honour to myself to tread in the well-worn track of my ancestors, and to approve myself a zealous imitator of them in holy and religious undertakings, than to have derived my descent and origin from them. And to this same the inclination of my lord king and father very much fires me, and the ardent desire, wherewith he is animated to put forth a helping hand to so pious a work, as well as the grief which preys upon his royal breast, when he weighs and ponders what cruel slaughters, what deplorable calamities have arisen from the dissensions of Christian princes.

Further—The judgment which your holiness hath formed of my desire of contracting affinity and marriage with the house of the Catholic prince, is a test both of your charity and wisdom; for never should I feel so earnest as I do to be joined to any one living in that close and indissoluble bond, whose religion I hated. Wherefore be your holiness persuaded that I am and ever shall be of such moderation as to keep aloof, as far as possible, from every undertaking, which may testify any hatred towards the Roman Catholic religion; nay, rather I will seize all opportunities, by a gentle and generous mode of conduct, to remove all sinister suspicions entirely; so that, as we all confess one undivided Trinity, and one Christ crucified, we may be banded together unanimously into one faith. That I may accomplish this, I will reckon as trifling all my labours and vigilance, and even the hazards of kingdoms, and life itself.

It remaineth only that, in returning your holiness the greatest possible thanks for the letters which I hold in the light of an illustrious gift, I pray for your every prosperity and happiness everlasting.

Your holiness's most devoted, CAROLUS P.

The Prince and Duke to James I.[1]

April 23, 1623. Madrid.

Dear Dad and Gossip,—We are sorry we are not able to continue the advertisement of the dispensation's arrival; it is certainly granted, and is as certainly upon the way hither; and although clogged with some new condition, yet such as we hope to remove with ease. They are these: two years more to the education of the children; no other oath to be ministered to the Roman Catholic subjects, than that which is given to the Infanta's servants, and that they may all have free access to her church. We hope in granting the first, yet making it hard, we shall not only facilitate the other two conditions, but, in a little time hereafter, bring more years back again with the two; to this we both recommend secrecy here, and to you there. If we receive your directions in time to this, we will punctually follow them. To the second our answer will be, the oath was made by Act of Parliament, and that you cannot abrogate it without the whole consent of your people. In

[1] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 34.

the last, we hope to let them see, as it will bring but a pester and inconvenience to the infanta herself, so it will less satisfy the Catholics, because it will make the act more public and less useful to their ends, than to have the exercises of their consciences freely in their own houses; for all meeting in one centre, the number will seem greater, and so make the state jealouser, and consequently make their security more uncertain, this being no less than in covered words to ask liberty of conscience, which you have neither mind nor power to grant; many other reasons we have, and so powerful, that we make neither question to speed the business, nor to end it to your own liking, which sweet Jesus grant, and your blessing to your majesty's humble and obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

Your majesty's humble slave and dog, STEENIE.

Prince Charles and the Duke of Buckingham, to James I. for more jewels.[1]

Sir,—I confess that ye have sent more jewels than (at my departure) I thought to have had use of; but, since my coming, seeing many jewels worn here, and that my bravery[2] can consist of nothing else, besides that some of them which ye have appointed me to give to the Infanta, in Steenie's opinion and mine, are not fit to be given to her; therefore I have taken this boldness

[1] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 39.

[2] Fashionable appearance.

to entreat your majesty to send more for my own wearing, and for giving to my mistress, in which I think your majesty shall not do amiss to take Carlisle's advice. So, humbly craving your blessing, I rest your majesty's humble and obedient son and servant, CHARLES.

I, your dog, says you have many jewels, neither fit for your son's nor your daughter's wearing, but very fit to bestow of those here who must necessarily have presents, and this way will be least chargeable to your majesty in my poor opinion.

Madrid, the 22nd of April, 1623.

The Prince and Duke to James I.[1]

Madrid, April 27, 1623.

Michael Andrew[2] is now come back from Rome, but the dispensation got hither before him; that you may the better judge of the conditions it is clogged with, we have sent you Gage's letters; this comfort yourself with, that we will not be long before we get forth of this labyrinth, wherein we have been entangled these many years; we beseech your majesty be secret in the conditions, and be assured we will yield to nothing, but what you may perform both with your honour and conscience; if you should not keep them so, it will beget dispute, censures, and conclusions there to our prejudice. The chief end

[1] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 42.

[2] The prince had despatched this person to Rome, as he says, in a letter to James, not here printed, "with a direction to send the nearest way to you, as soon as any resolution is taken."

of sending this post, is to tell you that the Groyne[1] is resolved on to be the fittest port for your ships, and us here; wherefore we pray your majesty to make no delay, but to send them with all speed thither. Sir, I, Steenie, am commanded by my wife to trouble you with a deed of honour and charity, to have a care of the widow, Mistress Murrey, whom you promised in her husband's time to provide for, and her seven children. We have been both much comforted with the return of Dick Grame, who hath made to me, your dog, in particular, such a relation of your majesty's constant care and love of me, in my absence, that now I shall follow your advice with a cheerful heart though not with a more trustful nor affectionate one; for he hath told me your carriage hath been such, that it hath calmed the mad malice of all my enemies, which was no small grief to me to hear they were of so great a number; and for that honour,[2] which your majesty tells me my Lord Treasurer hath been an importunate suitor for, though not a secret one, give me leave, out of the pride of my heart, to say, whensoever anything proceeds otherwise than immediately from your heart and affection, I shall kiss it, and lay it down at your feet again, for hitherto you have accustomed me to no other. Out of a certain report here that you had done it, I sent Edward Clarke purposely to entreat you to undo it, or to add one more for my sake; but now that it is undone, which I thank God heartily for, I beseech your majesty humbly, on my knees, to let it remain so, till I have the happiness to speak with yourself,

[1] Corunna. [2] A dukedom.

which is infinitely desired by your two boys that crave your blessing.

P.S. by Prince Charles.

We send this post with such speed, that we have no time to write this better.

Your majesty's humble and obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

Prince Charles to James I.[1]

Madrid, April 29th, 1623.

I do find that, if I have not somewhat under your majesty's hand to show, whereby that ye engage yourself to do whatsomever I shall promise in your name, that it will retard the business a great while; wherefore, I humbly beseech your majesty to send me a warrant to this effect:—

"We do hereby promise, by the word of a king, that whatsoever you, our son, shall promise in our name, we shall punctually perform."

Sir, I confess that is an ample trust that I desire; and if it were not mere necessity, I should not be so bold, yet

[1] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 43. With this modest letter was accompanied another from Buckingham, which is worth quoting:—"This letter of your son's is written of extraordinary desire to be soon with you again; he thinks, if you sign thus much, though they would be glad (which yet he doth not discover) to make any further delay, this will disappoint them; the discretion of your baby you need not doubt, and for the faith of myself, I shall sooner lose life, than in the least kind break it. And so in haste I crave your blessing.—Your Majesty's most humble slave and dog, STEENIE."

I hope your majesty will never repent you of any trust you put upon

Your majesty's humble and obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

James I. to Prince Charles and Buckingham.[1]

Theobalds, 9th May, 1623.

My Sweet Boys,

If the Dutch post[2] had not been robbed and sore beaten in Kent, three days ago, ye had sooner received the duplicate of the power I put in my sweet babies' hands, which I send you for the more security, seeing the expedition of your return depends upon it; but it rejoiceth my heart that your opinion anent the three conditions annexed to the dispensation agreeth fully with mine, as ye will find by one of my letters, dated Theobalds, which Gresley will deliver unto you. Carlisle came yesterday morning to Dos Castellanos, and a devoted servant to the Condé d'Olivares; but my sweet Steenie Gossip, I heartily thank thee for thy kind, droll letter. I do herewith send thee a kind letter of thanks to that king for the elephant, as thou desired, wherein I likewise thank for him, for a letter of his which Carlisle delivered unto me, which is indeed the kindest and courtesest[3] letter ever I received from any

[1] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 38.

[2] Mr. Chamberlain (in the Birch MSS.) thus speaks of this occurrence:—"There was a Spanish post lately robbed of good store of money about Shooters' Hill. The fellows that did it, and the postillion that set the match, are since taken, and brought to court before the king," &c — Letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, June 14th.

[3] Most courteous.

king. I have likewise received from Carlisle the list of the jewels which ye have already received, and which of them my baby means to present to his mistress; I pray you, sweet baby, if ye think not fit to present her the collar of great ballest[1] rubies and knots of pearls, bring it home again, and the like I say of the head-dressing of the great pear pearls, which ye have, and other three head-dressings which Frank Stewart[2] is to deliver unto you, for they are not presents fit for subjects; but if ye please, ye may present one of them to the queen of Spain. Carlisle thinks my baby will bestow a rich jewel upon the Condé D'Olivares; but, in my opinion, horses, dogs, hawks, and such like stuff to be sent him out of England by you both, will be a far more noble, acceptable present to him. And now, my sweet Steenie gossip, that the poor fool, Kate, hath also sent thee her pearl chain,[3]

[1] A rich kind of ruby.

[2] Of the jewels consigned to Sir Francis Steward there is an inventory in Nichols's Progresses. These were valued at more than £100,000. Indeed so rare and matchless were they, that the Spaniards themselves, though masters of the staple of jewels, were astonished at their beauty. To the honour of the Spanish name and nation, the entire of these presents was returned, after the match had been absolutely broken off.

[3] Buckingham's fondness for jewellery was notorious. The following account of his dress is taken from a Harl. MS. "It was common with him at any ordinary dancing to have his clothes trimmed with great diamond buttons, and to have diamond hatbands, cockades, and ear-rings; to be yoked with great and manifold knots of pearl; in short, to be manacled, fettered, and imprisoned in jewels; insomuch that, at his going over to Paris in 1625, he had twenty-seven suits of clothes made, the richest that embroidery, lace, silk, velvet, gold and gems could contribute; one of which was a white, uncut velvet, set all over, both suit and cloak, with diamonds, valued at fourteen thousand pounds, besides a great feather, stuck all over with diamonds, as were also his sword, girdle, hatband, and spurs."

which, by accident, I saw in a box in Frank Stewart's; I hope I need not conjure thee not to give any of her jewels away there, for thou knowest what necessary use she will have of them at your return here, besides that it is not lucky to give away that I have given her. Now, as for mails,[1] the more strong mails for carriage that ye can provide me with, I will be the better secured in my journeys, and the better cheap. If ye can get the deer handsomely here, they shall be welcome. I hope the elephant, camels, and asses, are already by the way. And so God bless you both, and after a happy success there, send you speedy and comfortable home in the arms of your dear dad,

JAMES R.

James I. to the Prince and Duke.[2]

Greenwich, 11th of May, 1623.

My Sweet Boys,

Yesterday, in the afternoon, I received two packets from you, after my coming hither, by two several posts, and the day before I wrote to you my opinion from Theobalds anent the three conditions annexed to the dispensation, I now send you, my baby, here enclosed the power you desire. It were a strange trust that I would refuse to put upon my only son, and upon my best servant. I know such two as ye are will never promise in my name, but what may stand with my conscience, honour, and safety, and all these I do fully trust with any of you two; my former letter will show you my

[1] Portmanteaus. [2] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 45.

conceit: and now I put the full power in your hands, with God's blessing on you both, praying him still, that after a happy success there, ye may speedily and happily return, and light in the arms of your dear dad.

JAMES R.

The Prince and Duke to James I.[2]

June 6th, 1623.

Dear Dad and Gossip,

The pope having written a courteous letter to me your baby, I have been told to write him an answer, without your majesty's leave, the copy whereof is here enclosed; we make no doubt but to have the opinions of these busy divines reversed (for already the Condé of Olivares hath put out ten of the worst), so your majesty will be pleased to begin to put in execution the favour towards your Roman Catholic subjects, that ye will be bound to do by your oath, as soon as the Infanta comes over, which we hope you will do for the hastening of us home, with this protestation to reverse all, if there be any delay of the marriage. We send you here the articles as they are to go, the oaths, private and public, that you and your baby are to take, with the councils, wherein, if you scare at the least clause of your private oath (where you promise that the parliament shall revoke all the penal laws against the Papists within three years) we sought good to tell your majesty our opinions, which is that if you think you may do it in that time (which we think you may) if you do your best,

[2] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 46.

although it take not effect, you have not broken your word, for this promise is only as a security that you will do your best. The Spanish ambassador, for respect of the Pope, will present unto you the articles as they came from Rome, as likewise for to require that the delivery of the Infanta may be deferred till the spring, his commission is to press for this, but to be satisfied with what we have yielded to here. We both humbly beg of your majesty that you will confirm these articles soon, and press earnestly for our speedy return. So, craving your blessings, we rest,

Your Majesty's humble and obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

Your Majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

James I. to the Prince and Duke.[1]

Greenwich, June 14, 1623.

My Sweet Boys,

Your letter, by Cottington, hath stricken me dead; I fear it shall very much shorten my days, and I am the more perplexed that I know not how to satisfy the people's expectation here, neither know I what to say to the council, for the fleet that staid upon a wind this fortnight, Rutland and all aboard, must now be staid, and I know not what reason I shall pretend for

[1] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 48. This letter relates to the resolution taken by the advice of the ecclesiastical council at Madrid to delay the Infanta's voyage till the following spring, in order to give time for the prince's conversion.

the doing of it;[1] but as for my advice and directions that ye crave, in case they will not alter their decree, it is, in a word, to come speedily away, and if ye can get leave, give over all treaty. And this I speak without respect of any security they can offer you, except ye never look to see your old dad again, whom I fear ye shall never see, if you see him not before winter. Alas, I now repent me sore, that ever I suffered you to go away. I care for match, nor nothing, so I may once have you in my arms again. God grant it, God grant it, God grant it; amen, amen, amen! I protest ye shall be as heartily welcome as if ye had done all things ye went for, so that I may once have you in my arms again; and God bless you both, my only sweet son, and my only best, sweet servant, and let me hear from you quickly, with all speed, as ye love my life; and so God send you a happy and joyful meeting in the arms of your dear dad.

JAMES R.

Prince Charles and the Duke to King James.[2]

Madrid, 26th June, 1623.

Dear dad and gossip,

Though late, yet at last we have gotten the articles drawn up in form, which we sent you by the Lord Rochford, without any new addition or alteration. The foolery of the Condé of Olivares hath been the cause of this long delay, who would wilfully against thee have

[1] Here follow five lines blotted so as not to be deciphered.

[2] MS. Harl., 6987, art. 52.

pulled it out of the Junto's and council's hands, and put it into a wrangling lawyer's, a favourite of his, who, like himself, had not only put it into an odious form, but had slipped in a multitude of new, unreasonable, undemanded, and ungranted conditions, which the council yielded unto, merely out of fear; for when we met the Junto, they did not make one answer to any of our objections, but confessed, with blushing faces, that we had more than reason of our sides, and concluded with us that the same should serve which were between Queen Mary and King Philip, being put to the end of every article which is to be sworn to. By this you may a little guess with what favour they proceed with us, first, delaying us as long as possibly they can, then, when things are concluded of, they throw in new particulars, in hope they will pass, out of our desire to make haste; but when our business is done, we shall joy in it the more we have overcome so many difficulties; in the mean time we expect pity at your hands. But, for the love of God and our business, let nothing fall from you to discover anything of this, and comfort yourself that all things will end well, to your contentment and honour. Our return now will depend on your quick despatch of these; for, thank God, we find the heats of such weight here, as we may very well travel both evenings and mornings.

The divines have not yet recalled their sentence, but the Condé tells us he hath converted very many of them, yet keeps his old form in giving us no hope of anything till the business speaks itself. But we dare say they dare not break it upon this, nor (we think) upon any

other, except the affairs of Christendom should smile strangely upon them, which will at all times and in all cases guide them. So craving your blessing, we end.

Sir,

In the midst of our serious business, little pretty Toby Mathews comes to entreat us to deliver to your majesty, which is, as he calls it, a picture of the Infanta, drawn in black and white. We pray you, let none laugh at it but yourself and honest Kate; he thinks he has hit the nail on the head, but you will find it the foolishest thing that you ever saw.

Your majesty's humble and obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

Prince Charles and the Duke to James I.[1]

Madrid, 27th of June, 1623.

Dear dad and gossip,

Our other letter was written before William Crofts came; he hath brought with him letters to our hearts' desire; we have thus far made use of them already. This morning we sent for the Condé of Olivares, and, with a sad countenance, told him of your peremptory command,[2] entreating him, in the kindest manner we could, to give us his advice how we might comply

[1] MS. Harl., 6987, art. 53.

[2] This of course alludes to the king's commanding them to return.

with this, and not destroy the business. His answer was, that there were two good ways to do the business, and one ill one; the two good ones were either with your Baby's conversion, or to do it with trust, putting all things freely, with the Infanta, into our hands; the ill one was to bargain, and stick upon conditions as long as they could. As for the first, we absolutely rejected it, and for the second, he confessed, if he were king, he would do it, and, as he is, it lay in his power to do it; but he cast many doubts lest he should hereafter suffer for it, if it should not succeed; the last he confessed impossible, since your command was so peremptory. To conclude, he left us with a promise to consider of it, and when I, your dog, conveyed him to the door, he bade me cheer up my heart, and your Baby's both.

Our opinion is, that the longest time we can stay here will be a month, and not that neither, without bringing the Infanta with us. If we find not ourselves assured of that, look for us sooner. Whether of these resolutions be taken, you shall hear from us shortly that you may in time accordingly give order for the fleet. We must once again intreat your majesty to make all the haste you can to return these papers confirmed, and in the mean time to give orders for the execution of all these things, and to let us here know so much.

So let the worst then come, we make no doubt but to be with you before you end your progress; therefore, we entreat you to take comfort, for in your health depends all our happiness. So, craving your blessing, we end.

I, your majesty's dog, beseecheth you to tell Cottington that I love him, and I pray you to do the like, for he is an honest man, and deserves it, or else call me knave.

Your majesty's humble and obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

Prince Charles and the Duke to James I.[1]

Madrid, 29th of June, 1624.

Dear dad and gossip,

By Killegrew's despatch, you understood how we entreated the Condé of Olivares to give us his advice how we might comply with your peremptory command, and not destroy that business our heart was so much set on; to give an answer to which he required some time. The next day, at night, we sent for him again, and pressed him for his opinion and counsel; to which he answered, on Monday the divines should meet and give in their opinions, and upon Tuesday or Wednesday at the farthest, his majesty should send us his last and final answer; but perceiving that we all looked sadly, and were at a resolution to return speedily upon it, if it were not to your majesty's satisfaction and ours, which could not be, except they resolved presently to give her without any new or farther conditions, he concluded that he

[1] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 55.

would do his best, and bid us be of good comfort, for he was in no doubt himself but all would end well. This we have thought good to advertise your majesty of, to the end you may not grieve yourself, nor think the time long till our coming, nothing was done, or intended, you may be the better satisfied with this our stay. They shall no sooner declare themselves to us, but you shall have it; so we crave your blessing and end.

Your majesty's most humble and obedient son and servant, CHARLES.

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog, STEENIE.

Prince Charles and the Duke to James I.[1]

Madrid, 15th of July, 1623.

Dear dad and gossip,

You have understood by this time how we were forced to resort to your last letter, sent to us by Crofts: they continue still the same expressions of joy which we then advertised you of. We have thought it fit again, at this time, to entreat you to put all those things in present execution, in the favour of your Roman Catholic subjects, that you are bound hereafter to do by the articles; for we are [in] good hope, if that be, to bring the Infanta at Michaelmas with us. We have given them these reasons to persuade them to it: the lengthening of your majesty's days; the honour of your son; the satisfaction of your whole people in general; and the easier and sooner performance of what is pro-

[1] MS. Harl., 6987, art. 56.

mised, with the charge you have been this year already at, and how much it will be increased more by her stay till the spring. We have showed them three ways to do it; first by alleging the Infanta's love to your son, which will serve to take off the blame of the act from the Condé of Olivares, if the people should dislike it, which he seems much to fear, and for which, we find, he hath little reason; but because he gives so ill and so unlikely a reason, we philosophy [?] upon the worst on his part, than to make another trial with the junto of divines, where they may make use of the advertisement they received last, concerning execution, from their own ambassador's; but that, I hope, will be better strengthened by what they shall write hereafter; and lastly, while this is working, to send to Rome, to persuade the pope to dispense with this king's oath, since your majesty, your son, and your council, hath agreed to that, for which that oath was required.

Sir, we do not know whether this will take effect or not; if it do not, we will be the sooner with you: we know you will think a little more time will be well spent to bring her with us, when, by that means, we may upon equaller terms treat with them of other things. Do your best there, and we will not fail of ours here. You should do well to see the ambassador's letters, and send them in your own packets. Of all this we must entreat you speak nothing; for [if] you do, our labour will be the harder here, and when it shall be hoped there, and not take effect, they will be the more discontented. I, your Baby, have, since this conclusion, been with my mistress,

and she sits publicly with me at the plays,[1] and within these two or three days shall take place of the queen, as princess of England. I, your dog, have also had a visit of her, to deliver your letter, and to give her the *par bien* of this conclusion. As this prospers, you shall hear from time to time. So we crave your blessing, and end.

Your majesty's humble and obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

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[1] The following curious account of the Prince's courtship is taken from Howell:—"There are comedians once a week come to the palace, where, under a great canopy, the queen and the infanta sit in the middle, our prince and Don Carlos on the queen's right hand, the king and the little cardinal on the infanta's left hand. I have seen the prince have his eyes immoveably fixed upon the infanta half an hour together in a thoughtful, speculative posture, which sure would needs be tedious unless affection did sweeten it. It was no handsome comparison of Olivares that he watched her as a cat doth a mouse. Not long since, the prince, understanding that the infanta was used to go some mornings to the *casa de campo*, a summer-house the king hath the other side the river, to gather May-dew, he did rise betimes and went thither, taking your brother (Endymion Porter) with him; they were let into the house and into the garden, but the infanta was in the orchard, and there being a high partition wall between, and the door doubly bolted, the prince got on the top of the wall and sprung down a great height, and so made towards her: but she, spying him first of all the rest, gave a shriek and ran back. The old marquis that was then her guardian came towards the prince and fell on his knees, conjuring his highness to retire, in regard he hazarded his head if he admitted any into her company; so the door was opened, and he came out under that wall over which he had got in. I cannot say that the prince did ever talk with her privately, yet publicly often, my lord of Bristol being interpreter; but the king always sat by to overhear all. Our cousin Archy hath more privilege than any: for he often goes with his fool's coat where the infanta is with her *meninas* and ladies of honour, and keeps a blowing and blustering

James I. to the Prince and Duke.[1]

Whitehall, 21st of July, 1623.

My sweet boys,

Even as I was going yesterday in the evening to the ambassador's, to take my private oath, having taken the public,[2] before noon, with great solemnity, Andover came stepping in at the door like a ghost, and delivered me your letters. Since it can be no better, I must be contented; but this course is both a dishonour to me, and double charges, if I must send two fleets; but if they will not send her till March, let them, in God's name, send her by their own fleet. The ambassadors speak broadly against this delay, and plainly say that it is senseless, and swear they will write earnestly with Cottington to persuade the change of that resolution; but, if no better may be, do ye hasten your business, the fleet shall be at you so soon as wind and weather can serve, and this bearer will bring you the power to treat for the palatinate, and the matter of Holland; and, sweet Baby, go on with the contract, and the best as-

amongst them and flirts out what he lists." Archy was a celebrated court jester, and is mentioned by Ben Jonson as a "sea monster," in allusion to this journey.

[1] MS. Harl., 6987, art. 59.

[2] There was both a public and a private treaty sworn to concerning the Prince's marriage. The first stipulated that the marriage should be celebrated in Spain, and then confirmed in England; that the mother should have the care of the children till they were ten years old; that the infanta and her attendants should freely exercise their religious duties; and that her chaplains should be Spaniards and Roman Catholics. The private treaty contained four articles in favour of the same religion, and was sworn to by the king in the house of the Spanish ambassador, before four witnesses.

surance ye can get of sending her next year;[1] but, upon my blessing . . . not with her in Spain, except ye be sure to bring her with you, and forget not to make them to keep their former conditions anent the portion, otherwise both Baby and I are bankrupts for ever. And now I must tell you miracles: our great primate[2] hath behaved himself wonderfully well in this business, insomuch as my lord keeper[3] will love him the better while he lives for it; and my lord chamberlain hath gone beyond all the council, in clear and honest dealing in this business; as all other things I remit to the sufficiency of this bearer, whom Steenie hath so earnestly recommended unto me. And so God bless you, my sweet children, and send you a happy, joyful, and speedy return in the arms of your dear dear dad. Amen.

JAMES.

Prince Charles and the Duke to James I.[4]

Madrid, 29th July, 1623.

Dear dad and gossip,

After a long expectation of Grisley, he arrived yesterday morning, with the good news of your health,

[1] "After dinner," says Arthur Wilson, "the king, retiring into the council-chamber, took another private oath to observe certain articles in favour of Roman Catholics, for the free exercise of their religion in all his dominions. And thus was the great business accomplished (seemingly), which gave our king so much content, that, being transported with an assurance of the match, he was heard to say, 'Now all the devils in hell cannot hinder it.' So secure was he of it in his own opinion. But one that heard him said to others standing by, 'That there was never a devil now left in hell; for they were all now gone into Spain, to make up the match.'"

[2] Archbishop Abbot. [3] Williams.

[4] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 61.

and the despatch of our business. We are sorry that there arose in your conscience any scruples, but we are very confident, when we see your majesty, to give you very good satisfaction for all we have done; and had we had less help, we had done it both sooner and better; but we leave that till our meeting. Sir, we have not been idle in this interim; for we can now tell you certainly that, by the 29th of your August, we shall begin our journey, and hope to bring her with us; but if they will not suffer her to come till the Spring, whether we shall be contracted or not, we humbly beseech your majesty to leave it to our discretions, who are upon the place, and see things at a nearer distance, and a truer glass than you and your council can there; for marriage there shall be none, without her coming with us; and, in the mean time, comfort yourself with this, that we have already convinced the Condé of Olivares in this point, that it is fit the infanta come with us before the winter. He is working underhand with the divines, and, under colour of the king's and prince's journey, makes preparation for hers also: her household is a settling, and all other things for her journey; and the Condé's own words are, he will throw us all out of Spain as soon as he can. There remains no more for you to do, but to send us peremptory commands to come away, and with all possible speed: we desire this, not that we fear we shall have need of it; but in case we have, that your son (who hath expressed much affection to the person of the infanta) may press his coming away, under the colour of your command, without appearing an ill lover. I, your

baby, give you humble and infinite thanks for the care you have expressed, both to my person and honour, And I, your slave and dog, who have most cause, give you none at all, because you have sent me no news of my wife, and have given her leave to be sick, and I conclude it the more dangerous, because you dare not write me news of it. We hope you have sent the rest of the navy towards us by this time; if you have not, we beseech you to use all the speed you can, as we shall do, to cast ourselves, with an increase of your fleet.

So we crave your blessing.

Your majesty's most humble and
obedient son and servant,
CHARLES.

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog,
STEENIE.

James I. to Prince Charles and the Duke.[1]

My sweet boys,

In your last letter by Clark, ye keep me still, as formerly ye did, betwixt hope and despair of the infanta's coming this year. I like well two of the three ways ye have offered them for hastening her coming home; but the third, of sending to the pope, will delay all this year, and lose the season; especially considering that the pope is dead,[2] and God knows how long they will be of choosing of another; and how he will be affected when he is chosen. And, therefore, I pray you, put us

[1] Harleian MSS. in the British Museum.

[2] Gregory the Fifteenth.

out of this lingering pain one way or other. But, if she come not this year, the disgrace and my charges will prove infinite.

All is performed and put in execution here, to the ambassador's full satisfaction. If ye can bring her home with you, strive by all means to be at home before Michaelmas; for after, it will be dangerous being upon the sea. If otherwise, I hope you will hasten you home, for the comfort of your old dear dad. But yet after the contract, go as far as ye can, before your parting, upon the business of the Palatinate and Holland, that the world may see ye have thought as well upon the business of Christendom as upon the [other] point.

I protest I know not what to do, if she come not this year; for this very refreshing of my fleet with victuals hath cost me eight thousand pounds; and therefore ye had need to hasten the payment of the dowry, after the contract. And, if ye come without her, let the marriage at least be hastened, as soon as can be after your parting, to be performed by commission in your absence; but I pray God ye may bring her with you. And so, God bless you, my sweet children, and send you a happy and comfortable return in the arms of your dear dad; and that quickly.

JAMES R.

Bromame, the last of July.

James I. to the Prince and Duke.[1]

August 5th, 1623.

My sweet boys,

I write to you now upon the good fifth day of August,[2] in the afternoon. Secretary Calvert's moving the ambassadors to have a sight or copy of what they wrote hath produced this effect, that I find their letters leaner and drier than either I expected or deserved. What course I have taken with them hereupon, at their coming hither to this feast, Secretary Conway's letter will inform you at large. To be short, I have given order to put in execution all that I have promised, and more, as themselves confess, and had been done before this time, if themselves, by new unreasonable motions, had not hindered it. And thus much more than I promised have I granted unto them, at their earnest suit, which is, a discharge of all debts already owing to me by recusants; and therefore, if they cast up now the great dowry they are to give, remember that, by this deed, I quit six and thirty thousand pounds of good rent, in England and Ireland, which, in good account, will strike down the third part at least of their dowry. If Killegrew be not already gone, he will deliver this letter unto you; but if he be gone, Clark will give you it, who shall immediately be despatched after the sealing of that pardon and privy seal which is presently to be drawn up.

[1] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 65. There is another copy in MS. Harl. 1011.

[2] James appointed a solemn annual thanksgiving to be held on the 5th of August, as the anniversary of his escape from the earl of Gowrie at Perth in 1600.

I have no more to say; but if you hasten not you home, I apprehend I shall never see you, for my extreme longing will kill me; but God bless you both, my sweet boys, upon this good day; and He that delivered me from so great a danger upon it, preserve you, and grant you a speedy, happy, and comfortable return in the arms of your dear dad. Amen! Amen! Amen!

JAMES R.

Carlisle hath told me a tale of this marquis, that shows him to be a slim man, and my Steenie's small friend; and the devil [take] all them that are so, except my baby, who I know never can love Steenie. But, in earnest, he broke off a crafty discourse to Carlisle, but he choked him so soon; therefore keep this to yourselves till you hear more of it.

James I. to Prince Charles.[1]

Cranbourn, the 10th of August, 1623.

My dearest son,

I sent you a commandment long ago, not to lose time where ye are, but either to bring quickly home your mistress, which is my earnest desire, but if no better may be, rather than to linger any longer there, to come without her; which, for many important reasons, I am now forced to renew; and therefore I charge you, upon my blessing, to come quickly, either with her or without her. I know your love to her person hath enforced you to delay the putting in execution of my former

[1] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 68.

commandment. I confess it is my chiefest worldly joy that ye love her; but the necessity of my affairs enforceth me to tell you that you must prefer the obedience to a father to the love ye carry to a mistress. And so, God bless you.

JAMES R.

James I. to Prince Charles and Buckingham.[1]

My sweet boys,

I now can assure you that the ambassadors are either more than fully satisfied, or they are worse than devils, if worse can be; but, in good faith, I believe they are really well pleased; what labour I had in it, secretary Coventry will inform you at large; it only rests now to pray you, for God's sake, to haste, haste, haste; but do as much of your great business as ye can, as I wrote in my first letter by Killegrew; I mean of those two that he now carries. If ye hasten not ye will get no more letters from me; for I protest to God I have written mine eyes almost dry, and in my last letter and this, every stroke of my pen seems; if any other thing come in my mind, I will commit it to this bearer's relation, and never cease to pray the Lord to bless my sweet boys, and send you a happy, comfortable, but speedy return in the arms of your dear dad,

JAMES R.

From Cranbourne,
the 10th of August, 1623.

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[1] MSS. Harl. 6987 and 6011.

James I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[1]

My Steenie,

Even as I had written my joint letter to baby and thee, Apsley came with his good news. I have written a letter to my baby, and another to thee as ye desired, which ye may show and make use of, if need shall require it. As for the recusants, by past fines, I have already granted it at the ambassador's suit, in the name of my baby's mistress, and so thou and I thought one thought; it is true I did not write to thee of thy wife's sickness, for I hope in God never to write evil news unto thee; but now, I thank God, she is very well. Some feared consumption, but Mayerne[2] assured me it was but a vapour that came from the spleen. Commend me to my sweet baby, and the Lord bless you both, and send you a happy, joyful, and speedy return in the arms of your dear dad, gossip, and steward,

JAMES R.

Cranburne, 10th August, 1623.

James I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[3]

My sweet Steenie and gossip,

Thy single letter was so sweet and comfortable to me, as I cannot forbear to pray God ever to bless and

[1] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 67.

[2] The court physician, and a very eminent worthy in the history of medical science. A large collection of his MS. receipts are preserved in the public library at Cambridge.

[3] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 70.

reward thee for it; praying God I may never have comfort of my sweet baby longer than I shall remain true friend to my sweet Steenie and gossip, to whom God grant a comfortable and happy return to his dear dad.

[August, 1623.] JAMES R.

Prince Charles and the Duke to King James.[1]

Madrid, August the 20th, 1623.

Dear dad and gossip,

The cause why we have altered our secretary is, that I your baby will not let your dog trouble himself with writing, because he has been of late troubled with a great cold, with a little fit of an ague, for which he was drawn blood, but now, thanks be to God, he is perfectly well.

Cottington arrived here the fifth of this month late at night, whose coming, we hoped, would have made great alteration to the better in our business; but we find here that they believe the Marquis Inoyosa's intelligence better than all your majesty's real proceedings; but we beseech you to take no notice to the Marquis of Inoyosa of his juggling[2] (for he has written hither, contrary to his

[1] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 71.

[2] A curious illustration of this is preserved in the Advocates' Library, MSS. in a letter from Buckingham, dated the same day:—"I cannot forbear now to acquaint your lordship how that I have observed here, by several ways and circumstances, that the Spanish ambassadors in England do come to the notice and discovery of many things which ought to be kept secret, and they have given intelligences hither of some advertisements, which must arise by an insight into his majesty's letters which went from hence. Wherefore I pray you, seeing how convenient it is, and important for the service of his majesty, to be very watchful therewith, and circumspect to prevent any such like betraying, for the

professions) until we wait upon you. The cause why we have been so long unwriting to you, since Cottingham's coming, is, that we would try all possible means (before we would send you word) to see if we could move them to send the Infanta before winter. They, for form's sake, called the divines, and they stick to their old resolution; but we find by circumstances, that conscience is not the true but seeming cause of the Infanta's stay. To conclude, we have wrought what we can, but since we cannot have her with us that we desired, our next comfort is, that we hope shortly to kiss your majesty's hands.

Sir, we have been informed by my Lord of Bristol, that by the French ambassador's means, the Spanish ambassador has seen all the letters that we have written to you, and that you are betrayed in your bed-chamber. So craving your blessing, we rest

Your majesty's most humble and obedient son and servant, CHARLES.

Sir, I have been the willinger to let your son play the secretary at this time of little need, that you may thereby see the extraordinary care he hath of me, for which I will not intreat you not to love him the worse, nor him that threatens you, that when he once gets hold of your bedpost again, never to quit it.

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

Marquis of Inoyosa will be very busy by bribes to prevent any one that may lean that way, the which your lordship will be pleased to take into your consideration."

James I. to the Infanta of Spain.[1]

Madam,

The celebrity of your virtues has not only attracted, in the capacity of a lover, my very dear son to come from afar to see you, but has inspired me also with an ardent desire of having the happiness of your presence, and of enjoying the pleasure of embracing such a princess in the quality of a daughter,—an unequalled comfort to

Your very affectionate father,

August 30, 1623. J. R.

Prince Charles and the Duke to James I.[2]

Madrid, 30th of August, 1623.

Dear dad and gossip,

This day we take our leaves; to-morrow we begin our journey; we leave our businesses thus. The pope being sick (as they say here), hath not yet given power for the delivery of the dispensation, upon the capitulations agreed upon, wherefore they not being able (though many divines say the contrary) to contract me your baby, until that power come from Rome, and they not having used us with those realities, as to encourage us to rely longer upon uncertainties, I your baby have thought fit to leave my promise to the king in my Lord of Bristol's hands, to deliver it when that

[1] Collection of Spanish historical documents, Rawlinson MSS. From the French.

[2] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 76.

power comes from Rome. As for the business of the Palatinate[1] (now that we have pressed them to it), we have discovered these two impediments; first they say, they have no hope to accommodate it, without the marriage of your grandchild with the emperor's daughter; but though we know you will like the proposition of the marriage, yet we know not how either you, or your son-in-law or daughter, will like it with this condition, that your grandchild be bred up in the emperor's court. The second is, that though they are content to restore him all his lands, and his son to both lands and honour, yet they will not engage themselves to restore himself to honours, but have it left to their mediation and courtesy; and how the first point will be obtained of the father, when they will discontent him in the latter, we leave you to judge. For the jointure and temporal articles, we will be able (when we shall be so happy as to kiss your majesty's hands) to give you a perfect account; in the mean time we crave your blessing, and end

Your majesty's humble and obedient son and servant,

CHARLES.

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

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[1] "I would have you give thanks for the entertainment of our son, and to do what you may to make an insolvable union of companions in love and vanity, we have expected the total restitution of the Palatinate and of the electorship; so therefore, so soon as you procure the king's resolution herein, and let him understand of the blank paper, we should wish to set down our conditions for the Palatinate."—*Letter of James I. to the Earl of Bristol, Harleian MSS.*

Prince Charles to the Earl of Bristol.[1]

Bristol, you know that I told you, I feared when I came away, the Infanta might go to a monastery, after I was contracted by virtue of a dispensation granted from Rome; and so the marriage might be broken; and the king my father and all the world might condemn me, and account me a rash-headed fool not to have prevented it. And, therefore, do not dispose of my proxy, until you hear more from me, for such a monastery may pill[2] me of my wife. So not doubting but you will observe particularly this, I leave you. CHARLES.

James I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[3]

Sweet hearty, when I made little Dick write my excuse to thee yesterday for not writing myself, I was very sick of a great flux that morning, but now, thank God, I am well, in spite of thee, and having changed my purpose in resolving to stay here at Oaking till Monday, so earnest I am to kill more of Zouch's great stags, I summon thee to come here to-morrow, and let Kate and

[1] MS. Harl. 2232, art. 10. This letter is without date, but it must have been written in November, 1623, on the 26th of which month, Bristol received his prohibition to deliver the proxy, as well as orders to return to England, and a message from James to Philip that the marriage should be contracted when the latter should pledge himself to commence liabilities in favour of the Palatinate. The pretext of the Infanta's retreat to a monastery after her espousals is generally attributed to the invention of the Duke of Buckingham.

[2] To rob or plunder.

[3] Harl. MS. No. 6011, p. 34. Compared with another copy in the same collection, No. 6987, f. 105.

Sue[1] go to Windsor, and meet me on Monday afternoon at Harrison's Heath hard with their bows. My Lord Percy is come out of France with better news than before; our standing to it has made them more reasonable; they are contented now with a letter and no mention of the holy Evangils in it: thy letter did great good. How soon my son comes from Guildford I will send thee the paper. I send thee an excellent Barbary melon; in good faith, I had no melons since thy parting till yesternight. God bless thee and thine,

JAMES R.

Prince Charles to the Duke of Buckingham, after the Earl of Bristol's return.[2]

Steenie,

First I must thank you for the token you sent me; then that you implored so good a secretary to answer my letter. Now I must crave your pardon to trouble you a little, and it is this; Bristol stands upon his justification, and will by no means accept of my councils; the king does hate to have him come to his trial, and I am affeard[3] if you be not with us to help to charge him, and to set the king right, he may escape

[1] The Duchess of Buckingham and the Countess of Denbigh.

[2] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 113. Immediately on his return, the Earl of Bristol was ordered to repair to his country-seat, and consider himself a prisoner. The feeling against him displayed in this letter is by no means creditable to Charles.

[3] Afraid. This form of the word is now a provincial vulgarism. *Sic voluit usus!* The language of our meanest peasant is authorized by the correspondence of Charles I.

with too slight a censure; therefore I would have you send to the king to put off Bristol's trial until you might wait on him; but for God's sake do not venture to come sooner than ye may with the safety of your health, and with that condition, the sooner the better. If ye will answer me, trouble not yourself, but do it by the secretary ye used last. Take care of yourself for my sake, who is and ever shall be

Your true, loving, constant friend,

CHARLES P.

Prince Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.[1]

April 26th, 1624.

Steenie,

I send you here inclosed interrogatories that the king thinks fit should be asked concerning the malicious accusations of the Spanish ambassador. As for the way, my father is resolved (if you do not gainsay it, and show reason to the contrary) to take the oaths himself, and to make secretary Calvert, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to take the examinations in writings under their hands that are examined; thus much is by the king's command. Now for my opinion it is this, that you can incur no danger in this, but by opposing the king's proceedings in it, to make him suspect that you have spoken somewhat you are unwilling he should hear of, for I cannot think any man is so mad as to call his own head in question, by making a lie against you,

[1] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 100.

when all the world knows me to be your true friend, and if they tell but the truth, I know they can say but what the king knows, that you have avowed to all the world, which is, that you think as I do, that the continuance of these treaties with Spain might breed us much mischief; wherefore my advice to you is, that you do not oppose, or show yourself discontented at the king's course herein, for I think that it will be so far from doing you hurt, that it will make you trample under your feet those few poor rascals that are your enemies. Now, sweetheart, if you think I am mistaken in my judgment in this, let me know what I can do in this, or any thing else, to serve thee, and then thou shall see that all the world shall daily know more and more, that I am and ever will be

Your faithful, loving, constant friend,

CHARLES P.

James I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[1]

My only sweet and dear child,

I am now so miserable a coward, as I do nothing but weep and mourn; for I protest to God, I rode this afternoon a great way in the park without speaking to any body, and the tears trickling down my cheeks, as now they do, that I can scarcely see to write. But, alas! what shall I do at our parting? The only

[1] Lansd. MS. 1236, f. 63. Buckingham's letters to the king generally commence with, "Dear dad and gossip." There is no date to this strangely worded epistle, and it is very difficult to place it in strict chronological arrangement with the others.

small comfort that I can have, will be, to pry in thy defects with the eye of an enemy, and of every mote to make a mountain; and so harden my heart against thy absence. But this little malice is like jealousy, proceeding from a sweet root; but in one point it overcometh it, for, as it proceeds from love, so it cannot but end in love.

Sweet heart! be earnest with Kate to come and meet thee at New Hall within eight or ten days after this. Cast thee to be here to-morrow, as near as about two in the afternoon as thou canst, and come galloping hither. Remember thy picture, and suffer none of the council to come here. For God's sake! write not a word again, and let no creature see this letter. The Lord of heaven and earth bless thee, and my sweet daughter, and my sweet little grandchild, and all thy blessed family, and send thee a happier turn, both now and thou knowest when, to thy dear dad and christian gossip,

JAMES R.

Prince Charles to the Duke of Buckingham.[1]

Steenie,

His majesty likes the last letter better than the first, only it has two faults where the other has but one. In the first it has only this, that it binds his majesty to a promise, that if any of his majesty's popish subjects offend, he must let the pope know of it before he punish them, which he ye may remember upon the

[1] MS. Harl. 6987, art. 98.

inditing of the letter his majesty says he stuck upon; and the second error in the new letter is, that his majesty wishes the pope to expel the jesuits by order. Now his majesty leaves the ordinary form of doing it to the pope, by his own ordinary ways; his majesty hath nothing ado to teach him by what order to do it, he has likewise put in the last letter before the subscription, *S. V. devotissimus;* whereas, in his majesty's letter to the former pope, there was nothing written but his majesty's name. He likewise in one place at least of the second letter omits to put in *Romanos* after *Catholicos.* Now ye know my father has ever stood upon it, both by word and write, that he is as good a catholic as the pope himself; therefore, since they take to themselves the style of catholic Roman, let them brook it a[1] God's name, he will not scant[2] them of a syllable of it. I will speak to secretary Conway for a pass for Robert Watson, for by this ye may see, that, of necessity, the letter must be written over again before his majesty can sign it, which he prays you that it may be done with all speed possible, and as for your letter to the Cardinal, he likes very well of it. As for the request ye make his majesty to delay his journey to Royston, he says ye play the part of a crafty courtier, that where an inch is given you, ye would fain win a span[3]; for in earnest he says it will be far against his heart to stay at Theobald's, where he can have no reception but to doil[4] up and down the park,

[1] In. [2] Spare; to let want.
[3] An old form of the proverb, "give an inch, and take an ell."
[4] To wander confusedly.

for there is no kind of field-hawking there; and besides, while the season is yet sweet and hares of breath, his majesty can with ease begin that exercise, which he cannot do so well when it is later in the year, and as for your part, if ye shall not be ready to go with him to Theobald's, according to his many warnings of you, and your promise to him, he can take no pleasure to be there, and he says that ye absolutely promised to go with him at his back-coming. As for my part, I hope to be able to follow him quickly, howsoever I should be loth that he should stay for me; his majesty intends likewise to write to you to-morrow morning. So in haste I rest

Your faithful, constant, loving friend,

CHARLES P.

James I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[1]

My own sweet and dear child,

Blessing, blessing, blessing on thy heart-roots and all thine. This Tuesday morning there is a great store of game, as they say, especially partridges and stone-curlews. I know who shall get their part of them; and here is the finest company of young hounds that ever was seen. God bless the sweet master of my harriers, that made them be so well all summer—I mean Tom Badger. I assure myself thee will punctually observe the diet and journeys I set thee down in my first letter from Theobald's. God bless thee, sweet Kate, and little Mawde, to the comfort of thy dear dad.

[1624.] JAMES R.

[1] Harl. MS., No. 6011, p. 31.

Let my last compliment stick to thy heart, till we may have a sweet and comfortable meeting; which God send, and give thee grace to bid the drugs adieu this day.

James I. to Prince Charles.[1]

My only sweet and dear child,

Notwithstanding of your desiring me to write yesterday, yet had I written in the evening, if at my coming in out of the park such a drowsiness had not comed upon me, as I was forced to sit and sleep in my chair half an hour. And yet I cannot content myself without sending you this billet, praying God that I may have a joyful and comfortable meeting with you, and that we may make at this Christenmass a new marriage, ever to be kept hereafter; for, God so love me, as I desire only to live in this world for your sake, and that I had rather live banished in any part of the earth with you, than live a sorrowful widow-life without you. And so God bless you, my sweet child and wife, and grant that ye may ever be a comfort to your dear dad and husband,

[1625.] JAMES R.

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[1] Bishop Goodman's History, vol. ii., p. 379.

LETTERS OF THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF BUCKINGHAM TO JAMES I.

If the extreme curiosity and historic interest of the following letters be not considered a sufficient apology for our departing for a few pages from the strict letter of the title of our work, we can allege even a stronger argument for their admission—the important illustrations they afford of part of the foregoing correspondence. The reader will have seen the style of James's letters to his omnipotent favourite. Can he, after a perusal of those, the strangest specimens of royal correspondence extant, be altogether indifferent to and feel no curiosity in perusing the answers—perhaps not the direct answers in all instances, but at all events sufficient to show the nature of the entire correspondence? But we feel assured a perusal will dissipate all objections.

The originals of these letters are preserved among the papers of Sir James Balfour, in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, where they have been deposited for more than a century. There they are, some of them blotted rather than written on slips of dirty paper, and all bearing testimony to the very little pains taken in their composition. Of their genuineness there cannot be the slightest doubt, and we have much pleasure in offering them collectively to the public. It is only necessary to add, that a very few have been already printed by Lords Hardwicke and Hailes, apparently from other manuscripts, for their misreadings and errors are numerous and important. There being no dates to these letters, it has been found impossible to place them in chronological order.

The Duke of Buckingham to James I.

Dear dad and gossip,

Though I am yet but weak, and though it may offend you, as it doth my secretary, yet, in despite of you both, I must have leave now and then to write with my own hand. I am very sorry for this new vein you have taken of losing of stags, but am much rejoiced that you attribute so much to my good luck as to think, if I were there, your ill fortune would alter; for which cause, to please you, and many more to please myself, I will make all the haste my weakness will give me leave. I thank God my grudgings[1] have left me again, but the yellowness of my skin betokens a yellow jaundice, which will be no great matter to cure if it prove so. I must end with this paper, for I protest I am faintish, which is another betokener of that dress I spoke of; but, before I end, I must beseech you to present my humblest service to your sweet baby Charles; and so I crave your blessing.

Your majesty's humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

The Duke of Buckingham to James I.

Dear dad and gossip,

The best show of true repentance of a fault is to make a true confession. I did forget to give thanks for my melons, grapes, peaches, and all the things else you sent. I must pass my account under that general term, or else I shall make the same fault again, by

[1] Grumblings of the ague.

leaving out something, your favours were so many; but where was this fault committed at that time? my thought was most employed in your service, therefore may be the easier pardoned; but what can you say for your fault? Did you not promise not to write; and can you deny but breach of promise is a great fault, and so much the greater, that you resolve to double them? for Kitt tells me, you resolve to do the same again to-morrow morning. I confess your faults are favours, therefore the more pardonable from him to whom they are committed; and if you should not sometimes fall into them, I should fear I had myself made one. What can be done then? If you write, I fear you are troubled; if you should not, sometimes, then I should be troubled. To reconcile all, let it be thus:—write not very often, and when you write, let it [be] very little, I should say short; for the least stamp from your pen is a blessing to him that now craves it as

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

The Duke of Buckingham to James I.

Dear dad and gossip,

In one of your letters you have commanded me to write shortly and merrily. I shall ever, and in all things, obey you. I humbly thank you for making your commands easy to be obeyed in these two particulars, and so you preserve the last, so still the first hath been so riveted with what is past, that no time to come can alter it. How can I but write merrily, when

he is so I love best and beyond all the world; I shall love the poor fellow's face the better for it while I live, for relating it with such joy; and for my writing short, why should I ever write otherwise, when all I can say must be short of what I should say and do? you have so infinitely obliged me, therefore I will, nay, I must be short. I have left off physic. I will wait of you by the day appointed. I had Jennings with me about Tiball Park; all is well there, and goes on bravely; and so is your baby Charles, whom I hope to wait of down. This inclosed will give you an account of the Dunkirkers' ships. By this little paper you will understand a suit of Hugh Hollands,[1] by this other parchment, a suit of my lord president's. Of all do but what you please, so you give me your blessing, which I must never be denied, since I can never be other than

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

I have forgotten to write my legible hand in this letter: forgive me.[2]

The Duke of Buckingham to James I.

Dear dad and gossip,

I have been the longer in writing, that I might send you certain word when I should be able to wait of you. I fear before Wednesday I shall not be

[1] That is, of course, a petition of a person of the name of Hugh Holland. This is one of the very few letters printed by Lord Hardwicke, who edits it "a suit of fine Hollands!"

[2] This postscript is most amusing. There is certainly none of the duke's "legible hand" in any part of the collection.

able to get out of this beastly town. All the pleasure I have in it is, when I think how well you have got to Royston. I hope your next will assure me of the like to Newmarket. I hate myself for forgetting to crave a blessing. I humbly thank you for chiding me that I asked none, and let not him be so punished as to be now refused a double one, who craves it with double-bended knees, but a single, entire, humble and cheerful well-contented heart; and so I crave your blessing again, because you are not weary of giving to him that's

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

All is well with Kate and Mall. I have played six sets at maw[1] with Sir John Ayres, and truly it's a very hard match. What shall I do then with him that eats cold custard with bunglers?

The Duke of Buckingham to James I.

Dear dad and gossip,

I shall make you wonder at a resolution I have taken, never to inquire more after your health. You can bear me witness, that I have never given credit to those that undertake to have the philosopher's stone, especially when they become takers themselves, as my devil hath now proved himself. If he blow as profitably

[1] An old game at cards. It is thus mentioned by Sir John Harrington:—

"Then, thirdly, follow'd heaving of the *maw*,
A game without civility or law—
An odious play, and yet in court oft seen,
A saucy knave to trump both king and queen."

with all the world besides as he hath done with me, he will have little need of the philosopher's stone; yet if all be true he hath assured to me, I shall think my four hundred pounds well bestowed. I confess so long as he concealed the means he wrought by, I despised all he said; but when he told me that which he hath given your sovereignship, to preserve you from all sickness ever hereafter, was extracted out of a [jakes], I admired the fellow: and for these reasons—that being a stranger ot you, yet he had found out the kind you are come of, and your natural affections and appetite; and so, like a skilful man, hath given you natural physic, which is the only means to preserve the radical humour, and thus I conclude. My son is healthful, and my devil's lucky; myself is happy, and needs no more than your blessing, which is my true philosopher's stone, upon which I build as on a rock.

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

Here is a gentleman, called Sir Francis Leake,[1] who hath likewise a philosopher's stone, its worth but eight thousand; he will give it me if you will make him a baron. I will, if you command not the contrary, have his patent ready for you to sign when I come down; he is of good religion, well born, and hath a good estate. I pray you burn this letter.

[1] Sir Francis Leake, of Sutton, county of Derby, was raised to the peerage in 1624, as Baron Deincourt, of Sutton. This fixes, perhaps ascertains, the date of the letter. He afterwards took an active part on the side of the royalists in the civil wars, and was created earl of Scarsdale by Charles I., in 1645.

The Duke of Buckingham to James I.

Dear dad and gossip,

I have sent this mettled post, to be an eye-witness of your second day's hunting, if want of sleep will give him leave, having undertaken to ride all night, to hunt with you all day, and be with me before supper back again, so that weariness do not prevent him. I hear you have got a good stomach since your being there, but I fear your liberality doth not give you leave to eat a good bit, being well acquainted with that old custom of yours of ever giving away the best. We both have fed of nothing else; and though they have all proved fat and tender, yet not being eaten at your saucy, lucky table, they wanted that sauce which makes all savoury. Let this bearer bring me news of your health and mirth, and then I crave no more but your blessing for

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

The Duke of Buckingham to James I.

Dear dad and gossip,

Though I have received three or four letters from you since that I writ last to you, yet, as Thom. Badger says, I am not behind-hand with you, for I have made a hundred answers to them in my mind, yet none that could satisfy my mind, for kinder letters never servant received from master; and for so great a king to descend so low, as to his humblest slave and servant

to communicate himself in a style of such good fellowship, with expressions of more care than servants have of masters, than physicians have of their patients, which hath largely appeared to me in sickness and in health; of more tenderness than fathers have of children; of more friendship than between equals; of more affection than between lovers in the best kind, man and wife—what can I return? nothing but silence; for, if I speak, I must be saucy, and say thus, or short of what is my due; *pourvier*—my good fellow, my physician, my maker, my friend, my father, my all, I heartily and humbly thank you for all you do, and all I have. Judge what unequal language that is in itself, but especially considering the thing that must speak it, and the person to whom it must be spoken. Now tell me whether I have not done discreetly to be silent all this while—it's time I should be so again, or else commit a fault, in wearying him that never wearies to do me good; then thus I'll end. I begin my journey to-morrow. I shall have the prince to wait of. We shall lie at Theobald's; the one will hunt hinds, and does; the other survey the trees, walks, ponds, and deer; the next day after lay ourselves at your feet, there crave your blessing, then give an account of Theobald's Park to the best of men, though not of the kind of men yet made by man, more than man, like a man, both artificial man, and my most natural sovereign, who by innumerable favours hath made me

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

The Duke of Buckingham to James I.

Dear dad and gossip,

As necessity enforces me, instead of repairing to you according to your command, and my promise to go many miles from you another way, and consequently from myself, all my perfect joys and pleasures chiefly, nay, solely consisting in attending your person, so me thinks duty and good manners commands me, on the other part, to give you an account under my own hand, though it be yet something unsteady and weak; but before I give the reasons of the change of my former resolution, there is a thing not much in exercise now in this world, called thankfulness, that calls so fast and earnestly upon me, that I must first, though I have already done it by the assistance of a young nobleman, called Baby Charles, whom you likewise, by your good offices, made my friend, whom, without all doubt, hath already perfectlier made my thanks than I shall myself; yet having the pen in my hand, I must needs tell you what I observe in your late absent and public favour, but ancient manner of obliging your poor, unworthy servant, whereby I find you still one and the same dear and indulgent master you were ever to me, never being contented to overvalue and love me yourself, but to labour all manner of ways to make the whole world do so too; besides, this assures me you trust me as absolutely as ever, largely exprest in this, that you have no conceit of my popularity, otherwise why should you thus study to endear me with the upper and lower house of parliament, and so, consequently, with your whole kingdom. All

and the least I can say is this, that I naturally so love your person, and upon so good experience and knowledge adore all your other parts, which are more than ever one man had, that were not only all your people, but all the world besides, set together on one side, and you alone on the other, I should, to obey and please you, displease—nay, despise all them—and this shall be ever my popularity. Give me leave here to use your one proverb, for this the devil con me thanks; the reasons of my going to Newhall are these:—first, I find business, and the sight of busy folks, does me much harm, and though your extraordinary care and watchful eye over me would keep them from speaking with me, yet in a court I must needs look many of them in the face. Then Theobald's house is now very hot, and hath but few change of rooms—both inconvenient to a sick body; then my lord of Warwick tells me, that by experience he hath found Newhall air as good a one to ride away an ague as any in England, and that lately he lost one by the benefit of that air, I mean near hand,[1] which I think will be all one. By this time I fear I have troubled you, and were it not that I write to you, I am sure I should have wearied myself. I have now only one request to you, as you first planted me in your Baby Charles's good opinion, if you think it fit for your service in my absence continue me in it, and so give me your blessing.

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

[1] Near at hand.

The Duke of Buckingham to James I.

Dear dad and gossip,

Because the sense and thankfulness of my heart for your excellent melons, pears, sugared beans, and assurance of better fruit planted in your bosom than ever grew in Paradise, will best appear in my humble obedience of your commands, I thought it fittest to delay the answer of your kind letter till I might give you a full account of all it contained. By this time I hope Mr. Secretary hath told you I mistook not the ambassador but by his own language; but, before I could despatch with him, the day was so far spent, that night accompanied me into Newhall. But this morning I have first agreed with Mr. Jennings, who is the fittest man we could have chosen for this business, and hath assured me that what is projected, I dare not say in this, but as in all other things resolved of till you say content, will be soon done easy, cheap, and without hindering deer, sow, or man, of free passage. The particulars I reserve till I may demonstrate it upon the map or place; but in the mean time Mr. Jennings will be preparing the ground, the trees, and all other necessary things, so that there shall be no time lost till you be acquainted with all, and pleased with it. Now for my own park. I have found this morning another fine wood that must in with the rest, and two hundred acres of meadows, with broom closes and plentiful springs running through them, so that I hope Newhall Park shall be nothing inferior to Burleigh. My stags are all lusty; my calf bold, and

others are so too; my Spanish colts are fat, and so is my jovial filly. Mall, Great Mall, Kate, Sue, and Steenie, shall all wait of you on Saturday, and kiss both James and Charles's feet. To conclude, let this paper assure you that the last words I spoke to you are so true, that I will not only give my word, swear you the holy Evangile,[1] but take the blessed sacrament upon them. So, craving your blessing, I rest

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

Baby Charles, I kiss thy warty hands.

The Duke and Duchess of Buckingham to James 1.

Dear dad and gossip,

Though you commanded me to write no answer, yet, since I should not a[2] slept well this night except I had done it, I hope you will excuse my disobeying of you at this time. I have been the longer a-doing of it, because I might send you the certainer news of my health, which at this time is so good, what with your sweet cordial and my seasonable drawing of blood, that I hope to-morrow to wait of you a perfect man. I hope you will not be put to much pains to read this hand, since you have received so many love-letters from her who joins with me in humble thanks for your kindness, and care of us both. So, craving your blessing, we end

Your majesty's most humble slaves,

KATE. STEENIE.

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[1] Gospel. [2] Have.

The Duchess of Buckingham to James I.

May it please your majesty,

My lord hath commanded me to give your majesty humble thanks for the pains you took to send him word of your removes under your own hand; he likewises much rejoices at the seasonableness of the weather, hoping the next day's hunting will be more honour to your majesty's hounds, and contentment to yourself, than the last. He beseeches your majesty to send him word how you speed, and whether your ableness to ride continues answerable to the former day, which news will be the best cordial your majesty can send him in his sickness. My lord's grudgings are but small; he gains strength upon them, and is all day long as stirring in his parks here as your majesty is at any time in your park of Theobald's: thus, with your majesty's leave, since my lord craves a blessing, I crave one too for myself and little Malle. So I end

Your majesty's most humble servant,

K. BUCKINGHAM.

For his majesty.

The Duchess of Buckingham to James I.

May it please your majesty,

I have received the two boxes of dried plums and grapes, and the box of violet cakes, and chickens, for all which I most humbly thank your majesty. I hope my Lord Annan has told your majesty that I did mean to wean Mall very shortly. I would not by any means

a done it, till I had first made your majesty acquainted with it, and by reason my cousin Bret's boy has been ill of late, for fear she should grieve and spoil her milk, makes me very desirous to wean her, and I think she is old enough, and I hope will endure her weaning very well; for I think there was never child cared less for the breast than she does, so I do intend to make trial this night how she will endure it; this day praying for your majesty's health and long life, I humbly take my leave, your majesty's most humble servant,

K. BUCKINGHAM.

For his majesty.

The Duke of Buckingham to James I.

Dear dad and gossip,

Though I writ last night, yet I think it not amiss to add one word more to express myself more particularly. My Lord Maxwell is arrived, and hath assured me, having had it out of the pope's own mouth, that the dispensation is granted free and unclogged;[1] he farther adds, that after he had in a rough manner spoke with the nuncio at Paris, insomuch that he told him he would complain of him presently in a letter to his holiness, he answered him calmly thus, and with some expression of fear, that he should do it; that if he would but have a little patience, he should quickly see through the business, and have no cause to complain. All this

[1] See some previous letters on this subject. The present requires little or no annotation after a perusal of the documents already printed in the preceding pages.

I have told; *fiat*, but under the rose; I likewise told him you reproached to me, where is your glorious match with France, and your royal Frank monsieur? I told him, also, I had order to set a short day for assembling of the Parliament, and that you had commanded me, if the Spanish agent came to visit me, that I should, upon pain of your displeasure, not only use him civilly but kindly. He answered me impatiently and confusedly, What, cannot one make a trial of gaining of better and more advantageous conditions, without an intention to break? Whereupon I told him I did not think they did intend to break; nay, that I did not think there [was] one occasion besides the ties of honour and honesty, would give them leave; but I was sorry and ashamed that so unseasonably, after all things was performed to their desire, nay, more than they could have imagined—witness the assistance of shipping, the hearty professions of my master, as well by letter as those verbal compliments he sent by Monsieur la Riviere, and now at the time when acknowledgments at the least, if not requitals, should have come with greedy, gluttonous appetites to seek to surfeit on the forbidden tree, can receive no cleanlier an interpretation than to have come from an unreasonable, unjust, false, and unmanly appetite, and thus you have ended *avec bonne bouche*, but I thought in my mind, I pray you, sir, do not kiss that word, nor bewray for want of bold and absolute language a good business. I ended with monsieur thus: Your master acknowledges he hath already the substance of what he desires, though I know the contrary; the

pope is to receive satisfaction not from my master, but yours; now then, let every man act his own natural proper part. Spain must really be cozened; let the pope do that, since he can as well pardon himself as all the world: the pope seemingly must be cozened; let France do that, who hath the title of the most Christian king, and so may the easelier obtain a pardon: my master will neither be cozened nor cozen, wherefore the most Christian king must most conscionably undertake to his holiness for as much as may cozen Spain, France, and Rome, who may not for their union be called the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Sir, I will weary your patience with one word more, if you please, treat as little as may be, and roundly let the ambassador know you so much prize your honour, that neither in a circumstance nor form will you make any alteration, and set your ambassadors a settled, short, peremptory day for an answer. If it prove good, I shall be as soon ready to go from hence as it can be to come hither; if ill, then let your ambassadors as speedily come away; for never admit of new journeys to Rome, neither doth it need. I will end with Mal's compliment to me: Lord Father, I love you well—Lord Father, I will die for you. So I crave your blessing as

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

The Duke of Buckingham to James I.

Dear dad and gossip,

I do not know what fault I have made of late, that you should take so cruel a revenge of me as to put

me in the fear your last but one letter did. I am too far behindhand to let the quarrel rest so, though, in your last, you made a proposition full of affection, if I may call it by so saucy a name. You are now in the place I love; therefore, for that respect, I will now forbear you; but when you are off that ground, look to yourself. I hope to have the happiness to-morrow to kiss your hands; therefore, I will not send you the letter you writ to the pope, which I have got from secretary Calvert.[1] When he delivered it to me, he made this request, that he hoped your majesty would as well trust him in the letter you were now to write, as you had heretofore in the former. I did what I could to dissemble it; but when there was no means to do it, I thought best to seem to trust him absolutely, thereby the better to tie him to secrecy. If this be a lie, as I am sure it is, then you may begin to think that, with a little more study, I may cry quittance. So I crave your blessing.

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

A million of thanks for your good melons and pears.

The Duke of Buckingham to James I.

Dear dad and gossip,

The cause of my troubling you so soon with a letter is, that there is a jealousy raised in the Lower

[1] An agent of the Romish court. Wilson commends the ingenuity of James in matching him with Sir Robert Naunton, "like contrary elements, to find a medium betwixt them." One was a violent papist; the other equally as violent a protestant.

House how that yet the two treaties are not absolutely broken off. The prince, Hamilton, Pembroke, Lancaster, and myself, who have all seen your despatch to the king of Spain, think if that was showed to them, that it would fully content them. We all likewise think there is nothing in it but what they may well see; and because on Thursday they pass the bills of subsidy, I think it will not be amiss it be read to them, which if your majesty like and allow of, I will call for it of the secretary, and to-morrow morning read it to them. So, craving your blessing, I kiss your dirty hands, and end

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

The Duke of Buckingham to James I.[1]

Dear dad and gossip,

To be short, I send you as many thanks for the good news of your health, as you sent me blessings. I commend loving baby Charles' desire to lose no time in fixing something on his mistress, in which he shows his intent is honourable; I likewise think your majesty hath yielded to reason in giving way to it; but if you will at my request let him send the anchor jewel with Thom Caire, you may do me a greater pleasure than the stones are worth, for to tell the truth, if he should send a lesser value than the duke of Savoy's son did in the same place, it would expose you both to mean censures. To conclude, I received this day in one paper a gift, in another bless-

[1] This letter was perhaps written during the sitting of the first Parliament in 1623.

ings and good wishes, and by a message a promise ever to be the honest old master to me. If I should say I will also be the same servant to you, it would be but a very unequal return, for what I am hath been your act, but my acts back again make me implore God's help to make me a new servant. Then might I hope before I die to be reckoned by you, according to my ambition, amongst or in the fore rank of your thankful, and not only as your favours alone makes me, your beloved servant.

Your majesty's slave and dog,

STEENIE.

The Duke of Buckingham to James I.

Dear dad and gossip,

I have eased you of the importunity of the ambassador, but have thought it fit to send this gentleman to receive your own directions. I shall take the boldness to stay here till his return, wherefore, and for the business sake, I pray you let it be speedy, and my opinion is, the plainer and directer you make your answer and demand, the clearer and sooner you will see through this business, wherein there hath been but too much time lost already. I spent some time in Theobald's park today, and though it was enough to give directions, yet not to satisfy my longing and desire to stay longer, it is grown so beautiful already, with the alteration already made. Thus loth to hold you longer than needs, I crave your blessing, as

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

The Duke of Buckingham to James I.

Dear dad and gossip,

I have been so busy to entertain the French ambassador and the grave judge, that I have not had time to take such order about my park as will give you satisfaction; wherefore, not daring to look you in the face till I had made some use of my journey, I have taken the boldness to stay one day longer than I had leave to do; and truly, the ambassador was so late in taking his leave, that though I should have attempted the performance of my promise, hardly should I a been able to a compassed it, especially after a hearty taking my leave of my wife. This last excuse I hope will plead pardon and obtain it of Baby Charles, and the former of yourself, in confidence of which, I will be merry here to-night, and to-morrow, long before supper, receive that which now I beg—your blessing.

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

Kate gives you many humble thanks for all your favours; mine I reserve till I have the happiness to see you. Kate begins to make use of Mal's tongue; for she had made Mall so importunate with me to stay, that if necessity had not commanded me, hardly could I a refused her.

The Duke of Buckingham to James I.

Dear dad and gossip,

I did hope to have got out of town to-morrow; but by reason of new discoveries my brother hath made

of witchcraft, I am forced to crave leave to stay till Monday or Tuesday; otherwise, by leaving him in the midst of troubles, I should give him too just excuse to think I cared no more for him than to serve my turns of him. I confess there is yet too much to do concerning my preparations for France, and God forbid I should by my neglect make that longer in doing which hath been already too long undone, the marriage of the prince. The want of moneys in your exchequer makes me now want the happiness to wait of you; for as yet I have not received one penny; but of this I'll trouble you no more, it being now ready, as I am, ever to receive your blessing, which now I crave as your majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

Both Kate, Mall, and I, humbly thank the good man and purveyor for his present of all kinds.

The Duke of Buckingham to James I.

Dear dad and gossip,

Yesterday came a post from Monsieur Ville-aux-Clercs to tell me that I might part when I would. I have returned this answer, that though I should be glad for my own particular, with the soonest to kiss his majesty's hands, who had so much obliged me, yet it would not suit with my master's occasions to have me long absent, but so soon as word would come that all treaties was at an end, and that things was prepared and ready for a speedy conclusion, then, I would make that

haste thither, that they should see there should be no time lost on our side. I have sent you a proclamation for the putting off of the Parliament; my lord keeper and Mr. Attorney thought it fittest to have it drawn in general terms; I have sent you likewise a warrant to be signed for the delivery of the twenty thousand pounds for my journey into France.

I fear I shall not be able to wait of you before the end of this week, but I would gladly know whether it would offend you or not, if I brought the countesses with me. I'll end in haste, because I will lose no time to prepare and despatch all these things which hinder me from being with you, so I crave your blessing.

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

Larkins says the dispensation is not yet comed, but certainly on the way.

The Duke of Buckingham to James I.

Dear dad and gossip,

I have not yet been able to acquaint the ambassador with what you have found in your book, because I received your letter when I was comed from him, but before I shall be able to see you, I shall have done it; for what with the rainy weather, my late coming last night, and this day's long treating with him in the garden, I have such a swelling in my throat, and such a noise in my head, that I can neither swallow nor hear well; wherefore, I shall be forced for my health, if your service will permit me, to take a little physic. The phy-

sicians tell me this is the seasonablest time, but my desire to wait of you with the pleasure of the season tells me it is the most unfit of all others. But necessity hath no choice; yet I comfort myself with this, that what I take now will warrant me for a long time. I here send you a copy of the Capuchin's propositions with the King of France, far worse, in my opinion, than those he made here to yourself; you will likewise find an answer made by the cardinal and that council, moderate in their opinions, but, in my opinion, ill enough. If your majesty please to send Mr. Secretary hither, and Parker, for all my indisposition I shall be able to ease you there, and hasten the despatch, which hath been too long already in going; it rest that I acquaint you of my wife's your humble servant's health, which is reasonable good, and so end with craving your blessing.

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

I kiss sweet babe Charles's hands.

The Duke of Buckingham to James I.[1]

Dear dad and gossip,

I have sent Wat Montague this morning into France, with the copy of those things you resolved of with the French ambassador, that our ambassadors may no more complain for want of timely advertisements: the Spanish agent will be with me before I can have well ended this letter. Gondomar's man was with me this

[1] All these letters of the Duke of Buckingham to James are endorsed, "to the best of masters."

morning. The discourse I had with him I am sure will not only be pleasing to you, but make you laugh. The most part of the morning I spent with the French ambassador, and yet could not make an end; wherefore, he hath earnestly entreated me to stay this day in town, as likewise to see the despatch he will send into France. He makes no question of an answer from thence answerable to your heart's desire. I confess I believe it, and the rather because I know they dare do no otherwise; and I am sure you now begin to laugh in your sleeve to see yourself so courted of all sides, and that all these actions turn to your advantage. Dear dad, since I cannot come to-night, let this hasty letter give thanks for that true, favourable, and most affectionate interpretation of my staying here, and God never relieve me when I have most need of it, if it be not a separating of myself when I am from you, and in lieu of having comfort and my heart ease by you to serve you, I give myself nothing but trouble and vexation. To-morrow, without fail, I will wait of you, and if it be possible, bring the countesses with me; in the mean time, for much take a little, which is my humble thanks for not only clothing my outside, but filling my in, and with such precious bits as was only fit for you, but will prosper the better when you add this, I humbly crave your blessing as

Your majesty's most humble slave and dog,

STEENIE.

Charles I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[1]

Steenie,

I writ to you by Ned Clarke that I thought I would have cause enufe[2] in short time to put away the monsieurs, either by attempting to steal away my wife, or by making plots with my own subjects. For the first, I cannot say certainly whether it was intended, but I am sure it is hindred; for the other, though I have good grounds to belife[3] it, and am still hunting after it, yet seeing daily the maliciousness of the monsieurs, by making and fomenting discontentments in my wife, I could tarry no longer from advertising of you, that I mean to seek for no other grounds to cashier my monsieurs, having for this purpose sent you this other letter that you may, if you think good, advertise the queen-mother[4] with my intention; for this being an action that may have a show of harshness, I thought it was fit to take this way, that she to whom I have had many obligations may not take it unkindly, and likewise I think I have done you no wrong in my letter, though in some place I may seem to chide you. I pray you send me word with what speed you may, whether ye like this course or not, for I shall put nothing of this in execution while I hear from you; in the mean time, I shall think of the convenient means to do this business with

[1] MS. Harl. 6988, art. 96.

[2] Enough (Scotch.)

[3] To let it remain.

[4] Marie de Medicis. Buckingham was at this time Ambassador Extraordinary at Paris.

the best mind, but I am resolute: it must be done, and that shortly. So, longing to see thee, I rest

Your loving, faithful,

Constant friend,

CHARLES R.[1]

Hampton Court, 20th November, 1625.

Charles I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[2]

Hampton Court, 20th of November, 1625.

Steenie,

You know what patience I have had with the unkind usages of my wife, grounded upon a belief that it was not in her nature, but made by ill instruments, and overcome by your persuasions to me, that my kind usages would be able to rectify those misunderstandings. I hope my ground may be true, but I am sure you have erred in your opinion; for I find daily worse and worse effects of ill offices done between us, my kind usages having no power to mind anything. Now, necessity urges me to vent myself to you in this particular, for grief is eased being told to a friend; and because I have many obligations to my mother-in-law (knowing that these courses of my wife are so much against her knowledge, that they are contrary to her

[1] The French household that attended on the Queen had already become distasteful to the king. He imagined that they influenced her opinions, actions, and even her affections. Hence arose his determination to be freed from their society; and these letters unfold the method by which he accomplished his purpose.

[2] MS. Harl. 6988, art. 1.

advice) I would do nothing concerning her daughter that may taste of any harshness, without advertising her of the reasons and necessity of the thing; therefore I have chosen you for this purpose, because you, having been one of the chief causes that hath withheld me from these courses hitherto, you may well be one of my chief witnesses that I have been forced into these courses now. You must, therefore, advertise my mother-in-law, that I must remove all those instruments that are causes of unkindness between her daughter and me, few or none of the servants being free of this fault in one kind or other; therefore I would be glad that she might find a means to make themselves suitors to be gone; if this be not, I hope there can be no exceptions taken at me, to follow the example of Spain and Savoy in this particular.[1] So, requiring a speedy answer of thee in this business, (for the longer it is delayed, the worse it will grow) I rest

Your loving, faithful, constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Charles I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[2]

Steenie,

I have hitherto deferred writing to you, both because I wanted subject, and that I thought that

[1] The servants of a Spanish princess, who had misbehaved under similar circumstances, had been expelled from France some years before. See Howell's Letters, 15th March, 1626.

[2] MS. Harl. 6988, art. 3. This letter was probably written in December, 1625, when Buckingham went to the Hague with the crown jewels, in the hope of raising £300,000 upon them.

you would be on your way towards me before my letters could reach you. Now I send this bearer to you, as well to answer your letter concerning the Turkish ambassador, as to entreat you not to stay upon uncertainty of winds, but come away as soon as all the army is shipped, which I hope will be before this can come to you. Your journey to my sister and France requires daily more haste than other; for though my uncle[1] of late has had good luck, yet he needs present encouragement, and Mansfelt, without instant help, dissolves to nothing. As for news, my wife begins to mend her manners; I know not how long it will continue, for they say it is by advice; but the best of all is, they the monsieurs desire to return home; I will not say this is certain, for you know nothing that they say can be so. So, hoping to see you shortly, I rest

Your loving, faithful, constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Charles I. to the Earl of Bristol.[2]

January 21st, 1625-6.

We have read your letter addressed to us by Buckingham, and we cannot but wonder that you should through forgetfulness make such a request to us of favour as if you stood evenly capable of it; when you know what

[1] King of Denmark.

[2] Cabala Mysteries of State and Government, in letters, London, 1641, fol. p. 188. An application to Charles from Bristol of a manly and honest character produced this very severe letter. He was committed to the Tower in the following June. The subsequent proceedings against Bristol reflect no credit on his accusers.

your behaviour in Spain deserved of us, which you are to examine by the observations we made, and know you well remember how, at our first coming into Spain, taking upon you to be so wise as to foresee our intentions to change our religion, you were so far from dissuading us that you offered your service and secrecy to concur in it, and in many other open conferences, pressing to show how convenient it was for us to be a Roman Catholic, it being impossible, in your opinion, to do any great action otherwise; how much wrong, disadvantage, and disservice you did to the treaty, and to the right and interest of our dear brother, and sister, and their children; what disadvantage, inconvenience, and hazard you entangled us in by your artifices putting off and delaying our return home. The great estimation you made of that state, and the vile price you set this kingdom at, still maintaining that we, under colour of friendship to Spain, did what was in our power against them, which (you said) they knew very well. And, last of all, your approving of those conditions, that our nephew should be brought up in the emperor's court; to which Sir Walter Aston then said he durst not give his consent for fear of his head; you replying to him that, without some such great action, neither marriage nor peace could be had, &c.

January 21st, 1625.

Charles I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[1]

It is not unknown, both to the French king and his mother, what unkindnesses and distastes have fallen between my wife and me; which hitherto I have borne with great patience (as all the world knows), ever expecting and hoping an amendment; knowing her to be but young, and perceiving it to be the ill crafty counsels of her servants for advancing of their own ends, rather than her own inclination. For, at my first meeting of her at Dover, I could not expect more testimonies of respect and love than she showed; as, to give one instance. Her first suit was, that she being young, and coming to a strange country, both by her years and ignorance of the customs of the place, might commit many errors; therefore, that I would not be angry with her for her faults of ignorance, before I had, by my instructions, learned her to eschew them; and desired me, in these cases, to use no third person, but to tell her myself, when I found she did anything amiss. I both granted her request and thanked her for it; but desired that she would use *me* as she had desired me to use *her;* which she willingly promised me, which promise she

[1] Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian library. It is printed in the 1646 collection of Charles's letters. Both copies agree with one another. D'Ewes thus quaintly describes the youthful queen—"On Thursday, the last day of June, I went to Whitehall purposely to see the Queen; which I did fully all the time she sat at dinner, and perceived her to be a most absolute delicate lady, after I had exactly surveyed all the features of her face, much enlivened by her radiant and sparkling black eye. Besides, her deportment amongst her women was so sweet and humble, and her speech and looks to her other servants so mild and gracious, as I could not abstain from divers deep-fetched sighs to consider that she wanted the knowledge of the true religion."

never kept. For, a little after this, Madame St. George, taking a distaste because I would not let her ride with us in the coach, when there were women of better quality to fill her room, claiming it as her due (which in England we think a strange thing) set my wife in such a humour of distaste against me as, from that very hour to this, no man can say that ever she asked me, two days together, with so much respect as I deserved of her; but, on the contrary, has put so many disrespects on me, that it were too long to set down all.

Some I will relate. As I take it, it was at her first coming to Hampton Court I sent some of my council to her with those orders that were kept in the queen my mother's house, desiring she would command the Count of Tilliers that the same might be kept in hers. Her answer was, that "she hoped I would give her leave to order her house as she list herself." Now, if she had said that she would speak with me, not doubting to give me satisfaction in it, I could have found no fault with her, whatsoever she would have said of this to myself, for I could only impute it to ignorance. But I could not imagine that she would have affronted me so as to refuse me in such a thing publickly. After I heard this answer, I took a time, when I thought we hath both best leisure to dispute it, to tell her calmly both her fault in the public denial and her mistaking the business itself. She, instead of acknowledging her fault and mistaking, gave me so ill an answer, that I omit (not to be tedious) the relation of that discourse; having too much of that nature hereafter to relate.

Many little neglects I will not take the pains to set down; as, her eschewing to be in my company; when I have anything to speak to her, I must means[1] her servant first, else I am sure to be denied; her neglect of the English tongue, and of the nation in general. I will also omit the affront she did me, before my going to this last unhappy assembly of parliament; because there has been talk enough of that already. The author of it is before you in France.

To be short, omitting all other passages, coming only to that which is most recent in memory: I having made a commission to make my wife's jointure, to assign her those lands she is to live on, and it being brought to such a ripeness, that it wanted but my consent to the particulars they had chosen; she, taking notice that it was now time to name the officers for her revenue, one night, when I was in bed, put a paper into my hand, telling me it was a list of those that she desired to be of her revenue. I took it, and said I would read it next morning; but withal told her that, by agreement in France, I had the naming of them. She said, there were both English and French in the note. I replied, that those English I thought fit to serve her I would confirm; but for the French, it was impossible for them to serve her in that nature. Then she said, all those in the paper had breviates from her mother and herself, and that she could admit no other. Then I said, it was neither in her mother's power nor hers to admit any without my leave; and that, if she stood upon that, whomsoever she

[1] Use as a mediator.

recommended, should not come in. Then, she bade me plainly take my lands to myself; for, if she had no power to put in whom she would in those places, she would have neither lands nor houses of me; but bade me give her what I thought fit in pension. I bade her then remember to whom she spoke; and told her, she ought not to use me so. Then she fell into a passionate discourse, how miserable she was, in having no power to place servants, and that business succeeded the worse for her recommendation; which, when I offered to answer, she would not so much as hear me. Then she went on saying, she was not of that base quality to be used so ill. Then I made her both hear me, and end that discourse.

Thus, having had so long patience with the disturbance of that which should be one of my greatest contentments, I can no longer suffer those, that I know to be the cause and fomenters of these humours, to be about my wife any longer; which I must do, if it were but for one action which they made my wife do, which is, to make her go to Tyburn[1] in devotion to pray: which action can have no greater invective made against it, than the relation. Therefore, you shall tell my brother, the French king, as likewise his mother, that this being an action of so much necessity, I doubt not but he will be satisfied with it; especially, since he hath done the like himself, not staying while he had so much reason. And, being an action that some may interpret to be of harsh-

[1] There is no proper evidence to substantiate this tale. The queen herself indignantly denied it, asserting that she had never approached within fifty paces of the gibbet, and then only in company with her husband.

ness to his nation, I thought good to give him an account of it; because that, in all things, I would preserve the good correspondency and brotherly affection that is between us.

July 12, 1626.

Charles I. to the Duke of Buckingham, for the final driving away of the Monsieurs.[1]

Steenie,

I have received your letter by Dick Greame.[2] This is my answer. I command you send all the French away to-morrow out of the town. If you can, by fair means (but stick not long in disputing), otherwise force them away; driving them away like so many wild beasts, until ye have shipped them; and so the devil go with them! Let me hear no answer but of the performance of my command. So I rest

Your faithful, constant, loving friend,

Oaking, the 7th of August, 1626. CHARLES R.

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[1] MS. Harl, 6988, art. 6. We have here the last letter from Charles concerning the expulsion of the queen's foreign household attendants, and the style in which it is written exhibits in a remarkable manner the virulence of the king towards them. On July 1st he had told them that some of them had so dallied with his patience, that it was impossible he could submit to it any longer. A letter, dated August 29th, thus alludes to the occurrence:—"The king at last has got rid of the French insects that have bit him so long. We had a procession of them in turns to Somerset House, and I know not what revilings took place betwixt them and the king's guard; but one of the soldiers told me that, for furious speech, he would rather have taken common thieves to prison. Thomas Smithson was the soldier who said this, but I forget whether you know him or his cousin of the same name. When they were turned away from Somerset House, the passage was somewhat rough."—Tanner MSS. Bodleian Library.

[2] By Dick Greame he means Sir Richard Graham.

Charles I. to the Duke of Buckingham, with Letters for the King and Queen of Bohemia.[1]

Steenie, [1626.]

I send you herewith letters to my sister and brother (I place them so because I think the gray mare is the best horse). As for news I can say but little yet. Ireland being the only egg we have yet sitten upon, and having a thick shell, we have not yet hatched it. For Blenville, he has yet but made his formal demands concerning the ships, to which he has a dilatory answer, while we hear from France concerning the restitution of our ships. This is all I have to say to thee at this time, but that I shall ever say and think that I am and ever will be

Your faithful, loving, constant friend,
For yourself. CHARLES R.

Charles I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[2]

Windsor, August 13, 1627.

Steenie,

I have received the joyful news of your happy success in the taking of Rhé, by Dick Greame. I pray

[1] MS. Harl. 6988, art. 5.

[2] MS. Harl. 6988, art. 20. Charles congratulates Buckingham on the first descent he had made on the isle of Rhé, little expecting the final result would have been so disastrous. The postscript to this letter is an unwonted testimony from the king of the amiable qualities of Henrietta Maria. It seems there was some ground for her belief that Buckingham was in some measure the cause of their domestic happiness, when we find him in the duke's absence express himself so favourably of her.

God to give you as much contentment always, as I received then; and then, I assure you, ye will be in no danger to die of melancholy. Beecher likewise gave me two letters from you, out of which I have taken such notes as to know what you desire and want, then burned them. After these, ere yesternight, I have received another; all which, by this occasion, ye shall see some answer to, though I hope to please you better in my actions than my words. I have made ready a supply of victuals, munition, four hundred men for recruits, and £14,000 ready money, to be brought to you by Beecher, who, by the grace of God, shall set sail within these eight days. Two regiments, of a thousand men a-piece, victualled for three months, shall be embarked by the 10th of September. I have sent for as many officers of the low countries as may be had, of which, till my next, I can give you no perfect account. I hope, likewise, ye shall have two thousand men out of Scotland, under the command of my Lord Morton and Sir William Balfour. So far for supplies, which by the grace of God I shall send speedily unto you, and you may certainly expect. Now, I shall give you my opinion in some things that Beecher has been talking with me, and that I have understood by your late despatch. And, first, in case the French king should die, what were to be done upon it. My opinion is (and not without advice in it), that you are to prosecute the war, and by no means to be the first motioner of treaty, for it is both dishonourable and unsafe, considering what men of faith the French of late have proved themselves; but if they should offer, then

to hearken, but not to believe too hastily. And believe it, this is the best way to gain our chief ends; for certainly making shows, or being desirous of a treaty, before they of themselves demand it, may much hurt us, no way help us. I have seen a draught of a manifest which ye have sent my Lord Conway, which, if ye have not yet published, I would wish you to alter one point in it, that whereas ye seem to make the cause of religion the only reason that made me take arms, I would only have you declare it the chief cause, you having no need to name any other; so that you may leave those of the religion to think what they will: but I think it much inconvenient by a manifest, to be tied only to that cause, of this war; for cases may happen that may force me to go against my declaration (being penned so), which I should be loth should fall out. I have set three main projects afoot (besides many small), mint, increasing of the customs, by imposing on the book of rates, and raising of a bank. The two first, I shall certainly go speedily through withal; the last is most difficult, but I have good hopes of it. So, going to bed, and wishing thee as much happiness and good success as thine own heart can desire, I rest

CHARLES R.

I cannot omit to tell you that my wife and I were never better together; she, upon this action of yours, showing herself so loving to me, by her discretion upon all occasions, that it makes us all wonder and esteem her.

Charles I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[1]

Aldershot, 25th of August, 1627.

Steenie,

Beecher staying longer at the sea-side than I expected, has given me this occasion of writing to you, which I do, rather to assure you, that upon all occasions I am glad to remember you, and that no distance of place, nor length of time, can make me slacken, much less diminish my love to you, than that I have any business to advertise you of. I know, too, that this is nothing but what you know already; yet, imagining that we (like usurers) love sometimes to look on our riches, I think it is not unacceptable to you to bid you look of that I esteem to be the greatest riches, and now hardest to be found, true friendship, there being no stile justlier to be given to any man, than that to me of being

Your faithful, &c.,

CHARLES R.

Charles I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[2]

Whitehall, September 2nd, 1627.

Steenie,

Having received a letter from you by this bearer, I cannot let him return empty; and indeed I should much condemn myself, if I did let any occasion slip, without remembering my love to you. At this time I have not much to say, but to congratulate with

[1] MS. Harl. 6988, art. 22. [2] MS. Harl. 6988, art. 23.

you for your escape from that treacherous blow,[1] which was meant you; for which I give God greater thanks than for your victory, hoping to have oft cause of rejoicing for the one, no more for the other; and upon this occasion I pray you take my counsel, that for my sake, you will trust as little as may be any papistical French rascal. Your recommendations of Halie and Coningham came too late at this time, but ye may assure them that I shall not fail to remember them with the first occasion. So praying for your good success in all things, and (with your wife) hoping and longing for your safe return, I rest

Your loving, &c.

CHARLES R.

Charles I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[2]

Theobalds, 20th of September, 1627.

Steenie,

I have received yours by this bearer D'Albier, whom I have despatched as soon as was possible, and to whose relation I shall need to add little; for I think he deserves the character that you put on him, and I assure you, it rejoices me not a little, to hear him (being a stranger and a soldier) give so just a description

[1] The treacherous blow which the king mentions to have been intended for the duke was an assassination attempted by a French Papist or Jesuit with a thick three edged knife; and a narrative thereof was published in a 4to. pamphlet, as soon as the duke came home, with a representation of the said knife in a wooden print. See Harleian Catalogue, vol. iii. p. 459.

[2] MS. Harl. 6988, art. 24.

of your inclination (which I know to be true); that making me believe the rest he says concerning your proficiency in the trade you have so happily begun, which, though I never doubted, yet I am glad to see that truth forces all men to approve my judgment of you. Within a week after you have received this, I hope Holland shall deliver you another from me; therefore now I haste to end, only I must chide you (if it be true that I hear), that you hazard yourself too boldly.[1] This I must command you to mend and take care of; there being more inconveniences in it than I [almost dare write] or fit for you to hear, but it is enough, that you are willed to preserve yourself for his sake, that is and ever shall be . Your loving, &c.

CHARLES R.

This bearer will you that I approve all your designs, and be confident of what succours these froward times can yield, which though they cannot be according to mind, yet, by God's grace, shall be enough for your fortune to maintain a just cause.

Charles I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[2]

Hampton Court, 1st of October, 1627.

Steenie,

I have received your despatch by Jack Ashburnham, by which I have understood the necessity in

[1] The duke's personal courage was the only redeeming quality he displayed in this expedition, the failure of which must be chiefly attributed to his ignorance of the tactics of war. On the day of his leaving the island, he is reported to have been the last to leave the beach.

[2] MS. Harl. 6988, art. 25. Buckingham alleged that his failure in the Isle of Rhé was in a great measure attributable to the non-arrival of expected supplies.

which ye are, and I am much grieved and ashamed that I must make an apology for our slowness here in giving you supplies; the cause whereof is, the hardness of getting mariners, and the slow proceeding of the commissioners of the navy (which all commissioners are subject to), money being readilier furnished than I could have expected in these necessitous times; but for that our best answer is (as the schoolboy says) pardon this, and we shall do so no more; and now, by the grace of God, ye shall have no more cause to complain of us, for now we know how to prevent those faults, which we, without some experience, could hardly foresee. Holland, within two or three days, will attend you with supplies, wherefore at this time I shall say little more, but concerning the instructions ye sent me for Ned Clarke, and Will Hayden's place of the Ordnance. For the first, the King of Denmark's ambassadors being here, for an accommodation between France and me, I have sent them away well enough satisfied, yet without discovering my intentions; so that I hope my uncle will be content with my proceedings with France; Ned Clarke likewise having instructions correspondent to the answer that was given the Denmark ambassadors; so that I think it needless, or rather hurtful, to discover any main intent in this business, because divulging of it (which this may cause) in my mind, must needs hazard it.

John Haydon has his brother's place already passed unto him, so that ye must excuse me, at this time, for Colonel Brett, yet because I see you have so great a care of him, I assure you that, at the next occasion, I

shall remember him with as good a turn (though I did not know him, as I do, to be an honest sufficient man) if it were only because I see you esteem him. Lastly, for God's sake be not disheartened with our by-past slowness, for, by the grace of God, it is all past. This I say not, that I fear thy constant stout heart can slack in an honest cause, but that some rascal may cast doubts in the army as if I neglected you; which I imagine is likely enough to fall out, since some villains stick not to divulge it; and it is possible those who were the cause of your consultation of leaving the siege, and coming home (for the resisting of which I give thee a thousand thanks), may mutter such things. Now I pray God to prosper me, but as I shall stick to thee in all occasions, and, in this action, as I shall show myself,

Your loving, &c.

CHARLES R.

Charles I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[1]

Whitehall, 13th October, 1627.

Steenie,

Since I have understood by Jack Ashburnham your necessities for fault of timely supplies, I still stand in fear (until I shall hear from you) that these may come too late, but I hope that God is more merciful to me, than to inflict so great a punishment on me. Holland can tell you all occurrences here, which I may use for a good excuse of a short letter; but in case his

[1] MS. Harl. No. 6988, art. 26.

gladness to see you (I judge him by himself) may make him forget some things, I will remember those I have most care of. The Denmark ambassadors, since their taking leave of me, having demanded a private audience there moved unto me, to send you powers to treat with France, in case they could procure them to begin; their reason for this was gaining of time, which they said, otherwise must be needs lost: but my answer was, that it was no ways honourable for me to send powers to treat, before I knew France's disposition to treat, it being necessary for my honour, that they should begin, not I. After some dispute, they found my reasons good, they ending with this request (which I could not refuse, but was glad of), that they might advertise you from time to time of their proceedings with the French king, and to give them some contentment at their farewell, I told them, that in case they made a peace between me and France, the army that you command should be ready to serve my uncle, if he desired it. Now, honest rascal, though I refused, being demanded, to send thee powers to treat, yet thou (knowing my well-grounded confidence of thee) may'st easily judge the warrant dormant power thou hast in this, as in any thing else, where confidence may be placed on any man; but for fear that thy modesty in this particular might hinder thee to remember thy power of trust, which I have given thee, I thought not amiss to write as I have written.

Gerbier's treaty is at an end, wherein he has showed both his honesty and sufficiency, but mightily abused by the king of Spain's ministers. So referring you to

Holland, I rest (though not in quiet until I shall see you safe and happily returned)

Your loving, &c.

CHARLES.

Charles I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[1]

Whitehall, 6th of November, 1627.

Steenie,

I pray God that this letter be useless or never come to your hands, this being only to meet you at your landing in England, in case you should come from Ré, without perfecting your work, happily begun, but I must confess, with grief, ill seconded. A letter you sent by Jack Epslie is the cause of this, wherein yè have taught mè patience, aud how to seek the next best in misfortunes. This is therefore to give you power (in case ye should imagine that ye have not enough already) to put in execution any of those designs[2] ye mentioned to Jack Epslie, or any other that you should like of. So that I leave it freely to your will, whether, after your landing in England, ye will set forth again to some design, before you come hither; or else that ye will first

[1] MS. Harl. 6988, art. 31. Perhaps few stronger proofs of the king's affection for Buckingham could be produced than is exhibited in this letter. Deeply disappointed at the ill-success of the expedition, he not only refrains from throwing any blame on his favourite, but, in the most considerate and kind manner, endeavours to convince him that he attributes the failure to any other cause rather than his conduct, and that he will be equally welcome on his return as if he had arrived with the laurels of conquest.

[2] One was an attack on Calais. The Duke de Rohan had pointed out several others.

come to ask my advice, before ye undertake a new work; assuring you that, with whatsomever success ye shall come to me, ye shall be ever welcome, one of my greatest griefs being that I have not been with you in this time of suffering, for I know we would have much eased each other's grief. I cannot stay much longer on this subject, for fear of losing myself in it. To conclude, you cannot come so soon as you are welcome, and, unfeignedly in my mind, ye have gained as much reputation, with wise and honest men, in this action, as if ye had performed all your desires. I have no more to say at this time, but conjure thee, for my sake, to have a care of thy health, for every day I find new reasons to confirm me in being

Your loving, &c.

CHARLES R.

Charles I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[1]

February 23rd, 1627-8.

Steenie,

I have written to you by Will Murray and Montgomery, having sent them to Plymouth, thinking you would have landed there; but understanding of your coming to Portsmouth, I have sent Porter to assure

[1] MS. Harl. 6988, orig. Lingard, vol. ix. p. 273, says that Charles "had even the generosity to transfer the blame from Buckingham to himself, and to give out that the failure was owing to the want of supplies, which it was his own duty to have provided." This can scarcely be quite correct. The complaint had been made by Buckingham, and the circumstance regretted by Charles, before the failure of the expedition was known to the latter.

you, our misfortune has been not to send you supplies in time, that all honest men cannot but judge that you have done past expectation, and (if a man may) say it beyond possibility. Your letter, and my Lord of Westmeath's relation, has much comforted me (the first news of your retreat being far worse than I thank God it is) but principally to see how nobly thou carriest it, answering the rest of thy actions. As for your design upon Calais, I much approve of it; let me but know what is necessary for it, and I shall see it provided with all diligence; and for secrecy, I shall speak of it to no living soul, but to Jack Epslie, whom I have sent for. So referring myself to the bearer, I rest

Your loving, &c.

CHARLES R.

You cannot come before you are welcome, which I leave to you; the sooner, I think, the better, at least best pleasing to me.

Charles I. to the Duke of Buckingham.[1]

23rd February, 1627-8.

Steenie,

This day I have received two letters from you, but much after the order of our times, for the first was last, which made me at first much blame the messenger, but when I saw it was a lord, I readily excused his laziness, for you can make no Somer. As for answer to your letters, not differing with you in opinion, (as I do but seldom) it is needless to make any.

[1] MS. Harl. 6988, art. 35.

I have sent you here inclosed a letter to my wife, in answer to one that Ludovic brought me, which was only a dry ceremonious complaint, and answered accordingly; by which I see, that my last denial is not digested yet, which you would do well to find out (of yourself, without taking any notice of knowledge from me), to set her in tune against my returning to London; for if I shall find her reserved, froward, and not kind, at my return, we shall not agree, which I am sure cannot fall out between you and

Your loving, &c.

CHARLES R.

Charles I. to the Duke of Buckingham to assemble his army at Portsmouth.[1]

Buckingham,

I command you to draw my army together to Portsmouth, to the end I may send them speedily to Rochelle. I shall send after your directions how and where to billet them,[2] until the time that ye will be able to ship them; for the doing whereof this shall be your sufficient warrant, it being the command of

Your loving, faithful, constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Whitehall, the 6th of June, 1628.

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[1] MS. Harl. 6988, No. 50.

[2] The system of billeting soldiers was one of the grievances brought forward in the session now concluding; "that in many places soldiers had been billeted in the private houses of the inhabitants, to their great grievance and molestation."

Charles I. to the Marquis of Hamilton.[1]

James,

Since you went, I have not written to you of Mackay's business, because I neither desire to prophecy, nor write half-news; but now, seeing (by the grace of God) what shall be the end of it, I have thought fit to be the first advertiser of it to you. I doubt not but you have heard that (after long seeking of proofs for clearing the business as much as could be, and formalities which could not be eschewed), the combat was awarded, day set, weapons appointed.[2] But, having seen and considered all that can be said on either side, as likewise the carriage of both the men, upon mature deliberation I have resolved not to suffer them to fight;—first, for Mackay, he has failed so much in his circumstantial probations, especially concerning Muschamp, upon whom he built as a chief witness, that nobody now is any way satisfied with his accusations: Then, for David Ramsay, though we cannot condemn him for that that is not, yet he has so much and so often offended by his virulent tongue, that we can no ways think him innocent; albeit not that way guilty whereof he is accused.

Wherefore, I have commanded the court shall be dismissed, and combat discharged, with a declaration to this purpose: that though upon want of full proof, the combat was necessarily awarded, yet upon the whole matter I

[1] Harleian MS. 841.

[2] The relation of this business may be seen at length in Burnet, p. 12. The accusations brought by Reay were not entertained by the king, who exhibited every kind of affectionate confidence in the duke of Hamilton.

am fully satisfied that here was no such treason as Mackay fancied. And for David Ramsay, though we must clear him of that treason in particular, yet not so far in the general, but that he might give occasion enough by his tongue of great accusation, if it had been rightly placed, as by his foolish presumptuous carriage did appear.

This is the substance, and so short, that it is rather a direction how to believe others, than a narration itself; one of my chief ends being, that you may so know David Ramsay, that you may not have to do with such a pest as he is, suspecting he may seek to insinuate himself to you upon this occasion. Wherefore I must desire you, as you love me, to have nothing to do with him.

To conclude, now I dare say that you shall have no dishonour in this business; and for myself, I am not ashamed that herein I have showed myself to be,

Your faithful friend and loving cousin,

CHARLES R.

London, May 8, 1632.

Charles I. to the Marquis of Hamilton.

James,

I have received three letters from you by James Lesley, about the 25th of July; all which, I assure you,

[1] Harleian MSS. No. 841. All this summer, says Burnet, the Marquis followed the king of Sweden in the quality of a volunteer, of which he was sufficiently weary; but he found that the king was so jealous o him, that he was not to expect any trust in or near the Palatinate, where he desired most earnestly to be employed, and that he did put him daily

have given me very good satisfaction, as well for your right understanding of affairs in general, as to give me a light how to direct yours in particular, which at this time is the only subject of mine. One of two you must choose —either to stay, or come away. For the first, it were very honourable to do (in this time of action) if you had an employment; but neither having nor likely to have any hereafter, it were dulness, not patience, to stay any longer. Yet it is fit to come off handsomely, neither showing impatience or discontentment (if it may be) although I think you have cause for both.

Therefore I have commanded Henry Vane to propose a new employment for you, which, though I think it will not take effect, yet it will show there is no way unsought for to find you out an employment with the king of Sweden. It is that you may be sent into the Palatinate, to assist the French with so many men as my contribution will maintain, which, if it may be done, they promise me to put the lower Palatinate into my hands. This, though I do not hold as gospel, yet if his design might be put in practice, it might certainly prove useful to my affairs. This being denied (as I think it will), you have no more to do but to seek a fair excuse to come home; which will be best (in my opinion), upon the conclusion of the treaty between Sweden and me. Or, if any rubs

off; in which the king of Sweden's design was, that by his impatience, he might be quickened to carry on the treaty with England on any terms. But no consideration of his own could make him betray his master's service, or drive on propositions which he judged so dishonourable for him as were those he offered about the Palatinate, wherefore he wrote to his majesty to receive his positive commands what to do.

arise, that you might be sent to clear it with me; so that, upon the whole matter, my judgment is, that if you cannot serve me in the Palatinate (as I have already said) the best is, that you take the first civil excuse to come home to

Your loving cousin and faithful friend,

CHARLES R.

Oatlands, August, 1632.

Charles I. to Lord Wentworth.[1]

Wentworth,

The great despatch that your brother brought me has given me so much satisfaction, that I could not but testify it by my own hand. Though I know you will find my public letters enough to your contentment, and full enough to make this short, yet there is one general and one particular that I will name to you, to take care of, to wit, the parliament and Arundel; in a word, to content them both, so far as may not be to my prejudice. As for Arundel, I need say no more; but as for that Hydra, take good heed, for you know that here I have found it as well cunning as malicious. It is true that your grounds are well laid, and, I assure you, that I have a great trust in your care and judgment; yet my opinion is, that it will not be the worse for my service, though their obstinacy make you to break them, for I fear they have some ground more than it is fit for me to give. This I would not say, if I had not confidence in

[1] A Select Collection of Original Letters, 12mo. Lond. 1755, vol. i. p. 118.

your courage and dexterity; that, in that case, you would set me down there an example what to do here. So I rest,

Your assured friend,

CHARLES R.

London, April 17, 1634.

Charles I. on the purchase of a collection of Pictures at Venice.[1]

Whereas we understand that an excellent collection of paintings is to be sold in Venice, which are known by the name of Bartolomeo della Nave's collection; we are desirous that our beloved servant, Mr. William Pettye, should go thither to make the bargain for them; we ourselves being resolved to go a fourth share in the buying of them, so it exceed not the sum of eight hundred pounds sterling; but that our name be concealed in it. And, if it shall please God that the same collection be bought and come safely hither, then we do promise, in the word of a king, that they shall be divided with all equality in this manner, *videlicet*—that they shall be equally divided into four parts by some men skilful in paintings, and then every one interested in the shares, or some for them, shall throw the dice severally; and, whosoever throws most, shall choose his share first, and so in order, every one shall choose after first, as he casts most, and

[1] Addition. MSS. 4293, art. 3. The fondness of Charles for pictures is well known. This document is a curious evidence of the manner in which purchases of the kind were sometimes made.

shall take their shares freely to their own uses, as they shall fall to them.

In witness whereof we have set our hand, this eighth day of July, in the tenth year of our reign.

Charles I. to Lord Wentworth.[1]

Wentworth,

Before I answer any of your particular letters to me, I must tell you, that your last public despatch has given me a great deal of contentment, and especially for keeping off the envy[2] of a necessary negative from me, of those unreasonable graces that the people expected from me, not in one particular dissenting from your opinion (that is of moment, as I remember) but concerning the tallow, and that but *ad referendum* neither.

Now I will begin concerning your suit, though last come to my hands; and the first for the form, that is to say, in coming to me not only primarily but solely without so much as acquainting anybody with it, the bearer being as ignorant as any. This I do not only commend, but recommend you to follow always hereafter at least in what concerns your own particular; for, to servants of your own quality (and some degrees under too), I allow of no mediators, though friends are commendable; for the dependence must come merely from me and to me; and as for the matter, I desire you not to think that I am displeased with the asking, though for the present I grant it not. For I acknowledge that noble minds are always

[1] Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 331.

[2] Malice; ill will.

accompanied with lawful ambitions; and be confident that your services have moved me more than it is possible for any eloquence or importunity to do. So that your letter was not the first proposer of putting marks of favour on you; and I am certain that you willingly stay my time, now ye know my mind so freely, that I may do all things *a mi modo*; and so I rest,

Your assured friend,

CHARLES R.

Hampton Court, the 23rd of October, 1634.

Charles I. to Lord Wentworth.[1]

Wentworth,

The accounts that you give me are so good, that if I should answer them particularly, my letters would rather seem panegyrics than despatches; so leaving them I come to those things wherein you require directions. And although I shall refer myself to secretary Coke for answer of those things that are in the public despatches, yet concerning two of them I must express my own sense, to wit, the not continuing of the parliament and the guard of the coast. For the first, my reasons are grounded upon my experience of them here; they are of the nature of cats, they ever grow cursed with

[1] Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 365. Wentworth had succeeded in assimilating the Irish to the English church, and in exultation he writes—"I can say that the king is as absolute here as any prince in the whole world can be, and may be still, if it be not spoiled on that side." It was his wish only to prorogue the parliament, but we here find Charles giving his reasons for a dissolution.

age, so that if ye will have good of them, put them off handsomely when they come to any age; for young ones are ever most tractable; and, in earnest, you will find that nothing can more conduce to the beginning of a new than the well ending of a former parliament: wherefore, now that we are well, let us content ourselves therewith.

I have read and considered your proposition for the guarding of the Irish coast, and (upon one condition) like it very well; that they should be subordinate and accountable to the admiralty here: for (by your favour) I do not hold it fit to sever the jurisdiction of the sea. So that if you can make it good with this condition, I shall esteem it a very good service; only I pray let us not imitate the king of Spain in the sea of discipline.

Concerning Fort Inoland, since my last to you . . . . speaking with me about Irish affairs, put me in mind of some engagements I had to . . . . . about this. But whether it were absolute or on condition of his finding it on his own charge, I do not now well remember; wherefore, go on to put it into my hands, and then, as I shall find my engagement and the fitness of the thing, I shall dispose of it accordingly; only see that none in the mean time, upon whatsoever pretence, snatch it up.

As for the reserved rent ye put upon the new plantations, I like it well, and that no undertaker should have too great a proportion. But now I desire that you send me particularly the number of acres I am this time to dispose of, as also, by way of articles, the conditions that I am to tie every undertaker to perform.

For the tallow, I can assure you that, for anything I know, you are misinformed, for I never heard you taxed to have a private end in it; but indeed I think you are mistaken in the business; but I leave the disputing part of it to others.

Lastly, I forgot in my last to satisfy you that what I did concerning the stopping of the horse and foot companies that last fell, was not by court importunity, for the truth is, that I intend it for Jacob Ashley. I say this to no other end than to clear you that there was no practice in the thing to your disadvantage, as likewise to desire you to put me in mind when anything shall fall in that kingdom fit for me to give such a man; for I have had this long time a desire to call him home to my service. So having answered, as I think, all your despatch, I assure you likewise that I shall not fail to answer your services in being really

Your most assured friend,

CHARLES REX.

London, 22nd January, 1634-5.

Charles I. to the Earl of Pembroke.[1]

My Lord, May, 1636.

I cannot use a better argument of my care of you and your family, than by taking into consideration that

[1] Clarendon State Papers, vol. i., p. 547. It was not unusual in former times for the sovereigns of England to turn match-makers, and recommend not only gentlemen to ladies but ladies to gentlemen for their wives. We have had instances of this practice in the letters of Henry VIII.

which mostly concerns you, and that is the marriage of your son, the Lord Herbert, which, though perhaps at this time may seem unseasonable, considering he is not yet out of his mourning and true sorrow for the loss of his late dear and virtuous lady; yet, because afflictions must have an end, and those that wish well to persons in his condition cannot do a better office than to minister occasions of diversion, I have thought fit to propose this unto you, leaving the time and other circumstances to yourself. The person that I would recommend unto you is Mrs. Dorothy Savage, daughter of the Lady Savage, whose birth and virtues are so well known, that there can be no doubt but when such a couple as your son and she shall come together, the conjunction will be very happy. I know your son so dutiful (and he owes to you, considering how noble a father you have been to him) that he will not so much as think upon bestowing himself without your knowledge and liking, and therefore you shall do well of yourself to sound his affections, and if you find him well inclined, further it as much as you can, which I shall take very well; and you may be confident I will be ever cherishing my own work, both for your own and my Lady Savage's sake, who shall know nothing of this until you shall think fit; but I would have my lady, your wife, know and take to herself what I write to you; and, howsoever this succeed, I will never be unmindful of yours and your son's continual readiness to do me service, and you shall ever find me,[1] &c.

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[1] A rough draught, endorsed by Windebank, "May, 1636; Lo: Herbert."

Charles I. to Lord Wentworth.[1]

Wentworth,

Certainly I should be much to blame not to admit so good a servant as you are to speak with me,[2] since I deny it to none there is not a just exception against, yet I must freely tell you, that the cause of this desire of yours, if it be known, will rather hearten than discourage your enemies; for, if they can once find that you apprehend the dark setting of a storm, when I say no, they will make you leave to care for anything in a short while but for your fears. And, believe it, the marks of my favours that stop malicious tongues are neither places nor titles, but the little welcome I give to accusers, and the willing ear I give to my servants. This is not to disparage those favours (for envy flies most at the fairest mark) but to show their use; to wit, not to quell envy, but to reward service; it being truly so, when the master without the servant's importunity does it otherwise, men judge it more to proceed from the servant's wit, than the master's favour.

I will end with a rule that may serve for a statesman,

[1] Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. ii., p. 32.

[2] "As for your coming over, certainly your good services (at least) deserve so much as not to be employed as a prisoner. Therefore, if it were only the occasion of your own affairs that required it, I shall most willingly yield to it: so that I give you free leave to come; yet I think the less you are out of that country, until the business be perfected that ye have begun, it will be the better."—*Letter of Charles to Wentworth.*

a courtier, or a lover—never make a defence or apology before you be accused. And so I rest,

Your assured friend,

CHARLES R.

Lindhurst, 3rd September, 1636.

For my Lord Marshal, as you have armed me, so I warrant you.

Charles I. to Lord Wentworth.[1]

Wéntworth,

I thought it not necessary to reply to yours of the 31st of March, because the occasion is not, as I think, very near; but I would not be too long without writing to you, and the rather to tell you, that I am now resolved to take the lands, and not the money, from the Londoners. For I will not lose, for the use of a little present money, so good a bargain, though I confess I imagined the lands were more worth than I find by your letters that they are.

Now to end with that purpose, I begin withal, I thank you for your considerations concerning war and peace; but, by your favour, ye mistake the question. For it is not whether I should declare war to the house of Austria or not, but whether I shall join with France and the rest of my friends to demand of the house of Austria my nephew's restitution, and so hazard (upon refusal) a declaration of war. Howsoever, your conclusion is very

[1] Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. ii., p. 78.

good, and I shall follow the advice therein, with as much judgment as God has given me. And so I rest,

Your assured friend,

CHARLES R.

Theobalds, 1st June, 1637.

Charles I. to the Mayor of York, about coming to the Cathedral, dated July, 1637.[1]

Right trusty and well-beloved, and trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.

Whereas, for the preservation of the solemnity of divine service in some of our cathedral churches, and for the good of those inhabitants of those cities, we have required the mayor and aldermen and their companies to frequent those holy places upon Sundays and holidays, with all due reverence, and that they be there at beginning of divine service, and at their going-out and coming-in, and while they are there, carry themselves so as becometh them, in obedience to the canons of the church and the customs of those cathedrals requiring also the mayors of those cities, that they shall not use the ensigns of their authority within our said cathedral churches, that hereafter the distinct liberties and privileges granted by our royal progenitors to those several bodies may be inviolably kept. We, therefore, casting the same gracious eye upon our cathedral and metropolitan church of Saint

[1] Harl. MSS. 2173, art. 29. A memorandum in the original states that a similar order was sent by the bishop of Chester to the members of the corporation of that city; but "reasons satisfactory were given that the mayor of Chester is not so tied."

Peter, in our city of York, to have it regulated in like manner, do hereby require you, according to your several duties, to take care for the due performance of all the said orders in that church; and further, that as well you the lord mayor, and also the recorder, and aldermen, at some solemn times in every year, shall receive the holy communion in the said cathedral church of York, to manifest your conformity to the orders established in the church.

Given under our signet at our court at Greenwich, 2nd of July, in the 13th year of our reign, 1637.

To our right trusty and well-beloved recorder and aldermen of our said city.

Charles I. to the Marquis of Hamilton.[1]

Hamilton,

Though I answered not yours of the 4th, yet I assure you that I have not been idle; so that I hope by the next week I shall send you some good assurance of the advancing of our preparations. This I say, not to make you precipitate anything (for I like of all you have hitherto done, and over, of that which I find you mind

[1] MS. Harl: 841. Charles had resolved to suppress the Covenant by open force, and had sent Hamilton in the previous month as his commissioner to Scotland. He was instructed to promise that "the practice of the liturgy and the canons should never be pressed in any other than a fair and legal way. and that the high commission should be so rectified as never to impugn the laws, or to be a just grievance to loyal subjects;" and that the king, instead of punishing those who had lately taken an illegal covenant, should pardon the offence, on condition of their immediately renouncing it. See Lingard, vol. ix., p. 355.

to do); but to show you that I mean to stick to my grounds, and that I expect not anything can reduce that people to obedience, but only force.

I thank you for the clearness of your advertisements, of all which none troubles me so much as that (in a manner) they have possessed themselves of the castle of Edinburgh, and likewise I give Striveling[1] as good as lost. As for the dividing of my declaration, I find it most fit in that way as you have resolved it; to which I shall add, that I am content you forbear the latter part thereof, until you hear that my fleet hath set sail for Scotland. In the mean time, your care must be how to dissolve the multitude; and, if it be possible, to possess yourself of my castles of Edinburgh and Striveling (which I do not expect) and to this end, I give you leave to flatter them with what hopes you please, so you engage not me against my grounds (and, in particular, that you consent neither to the calling of Parliament nor General Assembly, until the covenant be disavowed and given up). Your chief end being now to win time, that they may not commit public follies, until I be ready to suppress them. And that it is (as you well observe) my own people, which by this means will be for a time ruined; so that the loss must be inevitably mine; and this if I could eschew (were it not with a greater) were well. But, when I consider that not only now my crown, but my reputation for ever, lies at stake, I must rather suffer the first that time will help, than this last which is irreparable.

[1] Stirling, which was taken by the Earl of Mar. Scarcely one post of any importance in that part of the country remained to the king after hostilities had really commenced.

This I have written to no other end than to show you that I *will rather die* than yield to these *impertinent and damnable*[1] demands, (as you rightly call them) for it is all one, as to yield to be no king in a very short time. So wishing you better success than I can expect, I rest,

Your assured, constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Greenwich, 11th of June, 1638.

Charles I. to the Marquis of Hamilton.[2]

Hamilton,

The dealing with multitudes makes diversity of advertisements no way strange; and certainly the alteration from worse to less ill, cannot be displeasing. Wherefore, you may be confident I cannot but approve your proceedings hitherto; for certainly you have gained a very considerable point in making the heady multitude begin to disperse, without having engaged me in any unfitting thing.

I shall take your advice[3] in staying the public preparations for force; but in a silent way (by your *leave*) I will not *leave* to prepare, that I may be ready upon the least advertisement. Now, I hope there may be a possibility of securing my castles; but I confess it must be done closely and cannily. One of the chief things you are

[1] These interlineations occur in the original manuscript.

[2] MS. Harleian, 841.

[3] According to Burnet, "for all this, things began to promise some likelihood of settlement, which made him write to the king not to proceed in his warlike preparations till things were more desperate."

to labour in now, is to get a considerable number of sessioners and advocates to give their opinion that the covenant is at least against law, if not treasonable. Thus, you have my approbation in several shapes, wherefore you need not doubt but that I am

Your assured, constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Theobalds, 13th June, 1638.

Charles I. to the Marquis of Hamilton.[1]

Hamilton,

I do not wonder, though I am very sorry for your last despatch, to which I shall answer nothing, as concerning what you have done, or mean to do; because I approve all, and still desire you to believe I do so, until I shall contradict it with my own hand. What now I write is, first, to show you in what estate I am, and then to have your advice in some things. My train of artillery, consisting of forty pieces of ordnance (with the appurtenances) all drakes[2] (half and more of which are to be drawn with one or two horses apiece) is in good forwardness, and I hope will be ready within six weeks; for I am sure there wants neither money nor materials to do it with. I have taken as good order as I can, for the present, for securing of Carlisle and Berwick; but of this

[1] Harleian MSS. 841.

[2] *Drake* was an old term for a *dragon*, and hence the word was also applied, as in the present instance, to a small piece of artillery.

you shall have more certainty by my next. I have sent for arms to Holland for ten thousand foot and two thousand horse; for my ships they are ready, and I have given order to send the three for the coast of Ireland immediately, under pretence to defend our fishermen. Last of all, which indeed is most of all, I have consulted with the Treasurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer for money for this year's expedition, which I estimate at two hundred thousand pounds sterling, which they doubt not to furnish me withal. More I have done, but these are the chief heads.

Now, for your advice, I desire to know whether you think it fit that I should send six thousand landmen with the fleet that goes to the Firth, or not. For, since you cannot secure me my castle of Edinburgh, it is a question whether you can secure the landing of those men, and if with them you can make you master of Leith, to fortify and keep it. Of this I desire you to send me your resolution with all speed. I leave it to your consideration whether you will not think it fit to see if you can make all the guns of the castle of Edinburgh unserviceable for anybody, since they cannot be useful for me. Thus, you may see that I intend not to yield to the demands *of these traitors*, the covenanters, who I think will declare themselves so by their actions, before I shall do it by my proclamation, which I shall not be sorry for, so that it be without the personal hurt of you, or any other of my honest servants, or the taking of any English place. This is to show you that I care not for their affronting or disobeying of my declaration, so that

it go not to open mischief, and that I have some time for to end my preparations. So I rest,

Your assured, constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Greenwich, 20th June, 1638.

Charles I. to the Marquis of Hamilton.[1]

Hamilton,

I must needs thank you that you stand so close and constantly to my grounds; and you deserve the more, since your fellow-councillors do rather dishearten than help you in this business: for which, I swear, I pity you much. There be two things in your letter that require answering; to wit, the answer to their petition, and concerning the explanation of their damnable covenant. For the first, the telling you that I have not changed my mind in this particular is answer sufficient, since it was both foreseen by me, and fully debated between us two before your down-going. And for the other, I will only say, that so long as this covenant is in force (whether it be with or without an explanation) I have no more power in Scotland than as a Duke of Venice, which I will rather die than suffer.

[1] Harleian MSS. No. 841. See Burnet, p. 60. "The Marquis did again send a new despatch, much of the same strain with the former, before he had received this the letter representing the great hazards he apprehended from a breach, and that he feared the king would be faintly followed by the English: withal, he gave the king a large account of the explanation offered to that part of the covenant, by which they were bound to mutual defence, to which his majesty wrote the following answer."

Yet I commend the giving ear to the explanation, or anything else, to win time, which now, I see, is one of your chiefest cares: wherefore I need not recommend it to you. Another I know is, to show the world clearly that my taking of arms is to suppress rebellion, and not to impose novelties, but that they are the seekers of them.

Wherefore, if upon the publishing of my declaration, a protestation should follow, I should think it would rather do right than wrong to my cause. And for their calling a parliament or assembly without me, I should not much be sorry for it; for it would the more loudly declare them traitors, and the more justify my actions. Therefore, in my mind, my declaration would not be long delayed; but this is a bare opinion and no command.

Lastly, my resolution is to come myself in person, accompanied like myself. Sea-forces nor Ireland shall not be forgotten, the particulars of which I leave to the comptroller's relation, as I do two particulars to the archbishop of Canterbury, which you forgot to mention in my letter, and so I rest your assured constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Greenwich, the 25th of June, 1638.

Charles I. to Lord Wentworth.[1]

Wentworth,

Though I am in debt to you for three letters, yet there is little to answer, most of them being narrations, and for that which concerns the army, be-

[1] Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 211.

cause your despatch to secretary Coke made me direct him fully in that particular, I refer you to him; so that I conceive there rests nothing but the particular of the earl of Antrim to answer, whose professions have been so free and noble at this time, that (as I have promised) indeed, he deserves to be recommended unto you, which at his coming over to you, I wish you to take notice of to him. But to have the command of a magazine of arms, I leave to you and the council there to judge how far ye will trust any one of that kind, of his profession in religion. To conclude this, I would have you favour and countenance him as much as any one of his profession in religion. There is one other at this time which I am to recommend unto you of a far different humour, to wit, the Lord Castle-Stewart, whom really I leave you to judge whether he or his suit be fit to be favoured, or not; only this, his mother's son [1] deserves to be countenanced if his comportments merit not the contrary. So farewell.

Your assured friend,

CHARLES REX.

Woodstock, 30th of August, 1638.

Charles I. to the Marquis of Hamilton.[2]

Hamilton,

I see by yours of the 27th of September, that the malignity of the covenanters is greater than

[1] A quaint but not uncommon phrase, not generally used even at that period in the best circles of society. "That would hang us all, every mother's son," exclaim the honest workmen of Athens, when Bottom, the weaver, suggests that the roaring of the lion might "fright the duchess and the ladies." See the "Midsummer Night's Dream," Act I. scene 2.

[2] Harl. MS. 841.

ever; so that if you, who are my true servants, do not use extraordinary care and industry, my affairs in that kingdom are likely to grow worse than better. Therefore you, that do your endeavours accordingly, deserve the more praise, and your opposers the more punishment; and, in my mind, this last protestation [1] deserves more than anything yet that they have done; for, if raising of sedition be treason, this can be judged no less;[2] and, methinks, if the College of Justice have signed any covenant, (which I hope they have, for I hear nothing in the contrary) it were no impossible thing to get them to do me justice in this particular. And this I will say confidently, that, until the adherers to this last protestation be declared traitors, nothing will go as it ought in that kingdom. I say not this to alter your course, but only to show my opinion of the state of affairs.

As for the danger that episcopal government is in, I do not hold it so much as you do; for I believe that the number of those that are against episcopacy, who are not in their hearts against monarchy, is not so considerable as you take it.

And for this general assembly, though I can expect no good from it, yet I hope you may hinder much of the

[1] In a letter dated on October 29th, the king says to Hamilton, "I did not think that you would have met with so much opposition within your own bounds, since, as I thought, you passed well over a greater difficulty, to wit, the peevishness of the council. The cause of this, I judge, to be, that you did not make so much opposition against the protestation as it deserved, though I believe as much as you could."

[2] Charles refers to the protest which was drawn up by the Scots, in answer to his proclamation, wherein they declare that to obey the king would be tantamount to disobeying God and their consciences.

ill; first, by putting divisions among them concerning the legality of their elections; then, by protestations against their tumultuous proceedings. And I think it were not amiss, if you could get their freedom defined, (before their meeting), so that it were not done too much in their favours. And I hope you will remember to weigh well the propositions for the assembly, and send them up to me with all convenient speed.

I have seconded your letter to the mayor of Newcastle for the freeing of these horses, and have stopped all provisions, according to your advice at Hull. Yet methinks now they may be avowed to go against those who will not be satisfied with what you have lately done in my name. But in this I assure you that I take your advice, and so I rest, your assured, constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Hampton Court, 20th October, 1638.

Charles I. to Lord Wentworth.[1]

Wentworth,

Some months ago I wrote to know of you what assistance I might expect from thence to curb the rebels in Scotland. The expectation of which, (because I found by your answer, to be so difficult to be had, and likewise of no great consequence being had) I have relinquished so far, as not to build much upon those hopes; yet I have thought upon one particular, wherein

[1] Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 228. Strafford complied with the King's request. See a letter dated January 25th, in the present collection.

I think you may do me no small service to the aforesaid end, to wit, the securing of Carlisle, for the doing of which, five hundred men, well provided, will serve. Wherefore I desire you to send me word, first if ye can do this? then, how soon? with caution of highest secrecy; for you must find some other pretext for the providing and transporting of those men. I would know, likewise, what cannon you could spare or lend to this purpose. So expecting a speedy and I hope a good answer of this letter, I rest, your assured friend,

CHARLES REX.

Whitehall, 22nd of October, 1638.

If this be feasible, lose no time in providing all things necessary, that ye may be ready at the first warning from me.

Charles I. to the Marquis of Hamilton.[1]

Hamilton,

The letter that Robert Lesly gave me this day from you, though it be long, yet will require but short answer by me in two particulars, (the rest you will find answered by my Lord of Canterbury), to wit, the Castle of Edinburgh, and the supply of money to the bishops.

To the first, I totally agree, both for the man to be put into it, and the sum of three thousand pounds

[1] Harleian MS. 841. Hamilton had persuaded the Earl of Marr to resign the Castle of Edinburgh to the king. He demanded at first £5,000, but ultimately accepted of £2,000. The duke supplied money to the bishops and others who were ruined by their royalty.

sterling, if you can draw it no lower. For the other, I cannot say how soon I shall be able to do it; expenses daily increasing, and in particular, the securing of Berwick and Carlisle, being of necessity to be done instantly, as you know, the absolute performance of which I cannot promise before the middle of the next month; but I hope in God, at furthest before Christmas, yet I cannot promise it with that secrecy that could be wished; for I find the way by the Prince of Orange both unpracticable and unsafe. So, both pitying and praising your pains in my service, I rest,

Your assured constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Whitehall, the 8th of November, 1638.

Charles I. to the Marquis of Hamilton.[1]

Hamilton,

This is rather to give reason of my answer than the answer itself, you being to receive it at large from my Lord of Canterbury. The truth is, that the same reason which made me blot out the whole sentence before, hath made me desire to alter a word now, to wit, that I should not be thought to desire the abolishing of that in Scotland, which I approve and maintain in England, namely, the Five Articles of Perth. Now the word *content* expresses enough my consent to

[1] Harleian MS. 841. This refers to an "ambiguous word which was in the paper the Marquis was to offer in his Majesty's name, to the Assembly." See Burnet, p. 93.

have them surcease for the present; but the word *pleased* methinks imports as much as if I desired them to take them away; or, at least, were well pleased that they should do so. But I leave it to your ordering, so that you make it be clearly understood that, though I permit, yet that I would be better pleased if they would let them alone; and so I rest,

Your assured constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Whitehall, 12th November, 1638.

Charles I. to Lord Wentworth.[1]

Wentworth,

Though your letter of the 11th of this month was long, yet was it neither tedious nor unpleasing to me (for good council and cheerful obeying of my commands cannot but be always acceptable to me), nor will it require a long answer, you have set this business in so good a way; for I fully approve of all your ways of preparation — to wit, the way of levy, the pretence of it, the distribution of the companies, and the arms and the port you have named for their landing. But for the pay of the common soldier, it must not be augmented; for I must keep all the men I use in this service under one establishment, which I have resolved to be after the Holland pay; yet something may be done for them by way of conduct money, considering their long march. I give you willing leave to raise five

[1] Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 244.

hundred new foot to supply the want of others, and thank you for your willing undertaking of this new charge. Now for the leading of these men, I am so far from altering, that I thank you for naming of Sir Francis Willoughby;[1] and in the general command of those parts, I assure you, I shall not forget my Lord Clifford.

Now, having answered your letter, I have little more to say at this time, but to mention Sir Jacob Ashley to you in two respects: the first, to tell you that I have trusted him with all the secrets of this business, and have appointed him sergeant-major-general for the northern parts. The other is, that in respect I mean to use his service in this kingdom, I have made him refuse that employment you appointed for him there, to show that I will give no man dispensation to live from his charge, and so I rest

Your assured friend,

CHARLES REX.

Whitehall, November 21st, 1638.

I must not forget to tell you, that as I am glad to hear you have so good store of gunpowder; so that when you want, I expect you should furnish yourself from hence. C. R.

As I cannot expect you can be sooner ready than two months, so I hope at that time to find you ready at furthest. C. R.

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[1] Afterwards governor of Dublin.

Charles I. to Lord Wentworth.[1]

January 25th, 1638-9.

Wentworth,

This is to advertise you, that at last I have taken a resolution concerning Carlisle and Berwick, (which by the grace of God I will not alter. For the first, I need only to set you down the time, the way be so well laid already, that I will not change it) which is, the first of April next for your five hundred men to be in Carlisle. For by that time I am confident both to have twelve hundred men in Berwick, and to be ready to march, at a day's warning, with ten thousand foot and fifteen hundred [horse] to relieve either place. Only this I must add to my former directions that your men may bring with them bread and cheese for sixteen days after their landing, with this *quære*, whether Carlisle may not be conveniently victualled from Ireland or no? I do not mean that the Irish exchequer should pay for it. For you know that Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Northumberland are ill stored with those provisions. Lastly, I should be glad if you could find some way to furnish the Earl of Antrim with arms, though he be a Roman Catholic; for he may be of much use to me at

[1] Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 275. Strafford, in a former letter, had promised Charles the aid of 500 men, but he was far from being one of the chief authors of the war, as stated in the charges against him and Laud. Although he acknowledged that the presumption of the Scots should be checked, he recommended the king to pursue a middle course, and not to make a rash and sudden declaration of war. See Lingard, vol. ix. p. 361. The Earl of Antrim, mentioned in the latter part of this note, was prevented from assisting Charles in his expedition.

this time to shake loose upon the Earl of Argyle, of which particulars none of my secretaries at this time are acquainted with, wherefore the answer of this must come immediately to

Your assured friend,

CHARLES R.

Whitehall, January 25th, 1638.

Charles I. to Lord Wentworth.[1]

25 February, 1638-9.

Wentworth,

Yours of the 10th of this month came to my hands this morning, but for the present I shall only answer one part of it — to wit, concerning the five hundred which are to go to Carlisle. You know that it is fit that Berwick and it should be possessed at the same time. Now, I thought I might have done it by the 1st of April; but I find it will be the 8th before this of Berwick can be performed; therefore I will not have you embark your men neither sooner nor later than the 28th of this next month. So thanking you for all the ways of your hearty expression to my service at this time, I rest

Your assured friend,

Whitehall. CHARLES R.

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[1] Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 292. An endorsement informs us that Strafford received this letter on March 14th, nearly three weeks after date. Throughout this correspondence, it will be necessary to take into consideration the imperfect and slow transmission of all kinds of intelligence. Deductions are sometimes drawn by historians that would only be feasible if our ancestors had possessed advantages similar to those we enjoy at this day.

Charles I. to the Duke of Hamilton.[1]

Hamilton,

I received yours but this morning, to which, before I answer, I must tell you news. First, that Jacob Ashley has possessed Berwick with a 1000 foot and 60 horse, and Carlisle is likewise possessed by my Lord Clifford with 300 men; secondly, I have commanded Traquair[2] to keep his chamber until he give an account how he left Dalkeith without striking one stroke, and before any cannon was brought before it, having left the ammunition, not destroyed, to their reverence, and likewise the regalia; of this more by my next. Now for answer. I have given the proclamation to be written over by the clerk-registrar, with the general oath; both which you shall have with all speed. For your military oath, I like it extreme well; as likewise your opinion for detaining the patents of honours, till the country be settled. For your brother, certainly, if you had forgotten him, I should not but have remembered my old engagements; and for Dalliel, indeed he deserves well; yet methinks a viscounty may serve at this time, that I may have something more to give upon further occasion, and so I rest

Your assured, constant friend,

York, 2nd April, 1639. CHARLES R.

[1] Harleian MS. 841.

[2] "As touching Traquair, I can say little more than I did, because I have not yet seen his defence; only if I had not taken this rude notice of his base action, I am sure I should have disheartened a number of honester men than ever he was or will be."—Harl. MSS.

Charles I. to the Marquis of Hamilton.[1]

Hamilton,

I have spoken with Henry Vane at full of all those things that were concerted between you, and agree in all things but one, which is, that he thinks your going into the Frith will make the rebels enter into England the sooner; whereas, on the contrary, I think that my possessing of Carlisle and Berwick hath made them so mad, that they will enter in as soon as they can persuade an army together,[2] except they be hindered by some awful diversion. Wherefore, I could wish that you were even now in the Frith, that the borders might be quiet, till my army be brought together, which they say will hardly be yet these ten days. Yet I am not out of hope to be in Newcastle within these fourteen days; and so to Berwick as soon as I may with either honour or safety. Wherefore my conclusion is — Go on, a God's name, in your former intentions, except I send you otherwise word, or yourself find some inevitable necessity; and so I rest

Your assured, constant friend,

CHARLES R.

York, 10th of April, 1639.

Postscript. I have sent you ten blanks, whereof some be signature-wise.

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[1] Harleian MS. 841. Hamilton, when he had entered the Frith, remained there a month, without even attempting to land, but wasted the time in useless conferences with the Scots.

[2] So in MS. To come together; to collect.

Charles I. to Lord Wentworth.[1]

Wentworth.

I believe this will come slowly to your hands as to the time of a soldier's march, it being chiefly to recommend this bearer to you, which I do earnestly and seriously; for I take him to be a very able — I am sure, a very experienced commander. It is true, that he is a little overweaning of his own parts; yet he wants them not in his own profession, but he imagines that he cannot come amiss to him. I have sent him to conduct Antrim's design, of which I need say no more, having already made a large despatch to you upon that particular. And so I rest

Your assured friend,

York, April 27th, 1639. CHARLES R.

Sir Henry Vane to Lord —— by the King's dictation.[2]

My lord,

By the despatch Sir James Hamilton brought your lordship from his majesty's sacred pen, you

[1] Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 334. The bearer referred to was Sir Henry Bruce. This letter did not reach Wentworth till May 28th.

[2] Harleian MS. 841. In Burnet, p. 139, this communication is dated July 4th. The allusion to what passed in the gallery is explained by Burnet:—"How great the Marquis's surprise and trouble was when he received this cannot be easily expressed, though it was but what he always looked for; and before the king left Whitehall he told him, in the gallery, none but Sir Henry Vane being present, that few of the English would engage in an offensive war with Scotland."

were left at your liberty to commit any act of hostility upon the rebels, when your lordship should find it most opportune. Since which my Lord Holland, with a 1000 horse and 3000 foot, marched towards Kelso; himself advanced towards them with the horse, leaving the foot three miles behind, to a place called Maxwell Haugh, a height above Kelso; which, when the rebels discovered, they instantly marched out with 150 horse and (as my Lord Holland sayeth) eight or ten thousand foot: five or six thousand there might have been. We therefore sent a trumpet commanding them to retreat, according to what they had promised by the proclamation. They asked whose trumpet he was. He said, My Lord Holland's. Their answer was, he were best to be gone; and so my Lord Holland made his retreat, and waited on his majesty this night, to give him this account.

This morning, advertisement is brought his majesty that Leslie, with 12000 men, is at Carkburn-spath; that 5000 men will be this night or to-morrow at Dunce; 6000 at Kelso. So his majesty's opinion was, with many of his council, to keep himself upon a defensive, and make himself here as safe as he can; for his majesty doth now clearly see and is fully satisfied in his own judgment, that what passed in the gallery betwixt his majesty, your lordship, and myself, hath been but too much verified on this occasion. And therefore his majesty would not have you to begin with them, but to settle things with you in a safe and good posture; and yourself to come hither in person to consult of what

counsels are fitted to be taken, as the affairs now hold. And so, wishing your lordship a speedy passage, I rest

Your lordship's most humble servant

And faithful friend,

H. VANE.

From the camp at Huntley Field,
this 9th of June, 1639.

[Postscript in the king's own hand :]

Having no time to write myself so much, I was forced to use his pen ; therefore I shall only say that what is here written I have directed, seen, and approved.

C. R.

Charles I. to Lord Wentworth.[1]

Wentworth,

Though public affairs at this time be of such importance that it might fitly enough silence for a time all particular, yet they are so unpleasing that I should leave them to the relation of others, choosing that rather that will get me thanks, at which I shall not repine, being that particular concerning the Earl of St. Albans, for whom heretofore I wrote you a legal letter, the execution of which you stopped, as conceiving it against my service, promising to send me a true state of the business, which, being longer delayed than that nobleman's estate could well suffer, I thought it better to do him a timely favour by another than to want so much of my thanks as coming too late. So that if through ignorance my bounty be too large, your slow

[1] Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 360.

advertising of the case is the cause. Wherefore, I will have you give this letter his free course, only ye may see that his acknowledgment of my title be full, which certainly will take away the objection of an ill precedent, or harming my service in the like case. So thanking you for the daily service ye do me, I rest

Your assured friend,

CHARLES R.

Camp, near Berwick, June 20th, 1639.[1]

Charles I. to Lord Wentworth.[2]

If this young lord be as diligent with you as he hath been with me, you will have no cause to complain of his negligence; and indeed I like him so well, that I cannot but recommend him to your care, who assuring me that he means to settle his fortunes there, I think it would be well done to admit him to be a planter upon the same conditions as others. So much for him.

There is a Scottish proverb that bids you put two locks on your door, when you have made friends with a foe; so now, upon this pacification, I bid you have a most careful eye upon the north of Ireland. Not that I [think] this caution is needful in respect of you, but to let you see I have a care of that kingdom, though I have too much trouble with these. So I rest

Your assured friend,

Berwick, June 22nd, 1639. CHARLES R.

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[1] Received 8th of July afternoon, by Mr. Davock.

[2] Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 361. It seems that Lord Grandison was the "young lord" recommended by Charles to Strafford.

Charles I. to Lord Wentworth.[1]

Wentworth,

Though it add something to my trouble, yet I am content to see that men so much desire to carry my letters to you, it both declaring their estimation and knowledge of that that I have to you: and indeed this is the chief cause of my writing at this time, this gentleman not willing to go without a line from me, the better to assure you, that though he be a Scottishman, yet he is no Covenanter, nor ever was; which indeed is not the ordinary.

As for my affairs here, I am far from thinking that at this time I shall get half of my will, though I mean, by the grace of God, to be in person both at assembly and parliament;[2] for which I know many wise men blame me, and it may be you among the rest: and I confess, not without many weighty and considerable arguments, which I have neither time to repeat nor confute; only this, believe me, nothing but my presence at this time in that country can save it from irreparable confusion: yet I will not be so vain as absolutely to say that I can. Wherefore my conclusion is, that if I see a great probability, I go, otherwise not, but return to London, or take other counsels. And so I rest

Your assured friend,

CHARLES R.

Berwick, 30th June, 1639.[3]

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[1] Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 362.

[2] Charles declared his intention of opening the parliament at Edinburgh in person, but he did not put his design into execution.

[3] Received 14th July, by my Lord Temple's agent.

Charles I. to the Earl of Strafford.[1]

Wentworth,

The bishoprick of Elphin being now void, I have not yet signed the presentation of it for the new dean of Christ Church in Dublin (although it were recommended me by the archbishop of Canterbury in your name, alleging likewise that I have already consented thereunto, which albeit I do not remember, yet I will not deny), because I have a great desire to name another, who, for the present, is undone for my sake, and for whom I must do somewhat either at this or some other occasion. It is the bishop of Ross. But I will not let so much as my intention be divulged herein, before I have not only your advice but even consent also, because I suspect that I am already engaged to you for the other. For this I will say to you upon my word, that it is entirely a desire of my own, none either directly or indirectly having moved me for him, and much deceived, if yet himself knows anything of this my intention. Then for his abilities and honesty, I will boldly answer to be worthy of a far better bishoprick than that is; and though a Scottishman, yet none in any respect freer from Puritanism than he; for which he is so hated in Scotland, that he cannot think to return thither, which, to say freely,

[1] Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. ii., p. 369. In a letter dated August 8th, Charles informs him he had "signed the warrant for the bishopric of Elphin as you desire: which, as I have done willingly upon the reasons you mentioned in your letter, so I doubt not but that you will be ready to remember me for the performing of that at the next occasion, which I intended at this."

is a chief motive of this my intention. Wherefore, to conclude, if you will hold me strictly to my engagement, I cannot go from it; but if you will suspend it until another occasion, ye will do me a great pleasure. And so I rest

Your assured friend,

CHARLES R.

Berwick, 9th July, 1639.

Charles I. to Lord Wentworth.[1]

Wentworth,

Hen. Bruce hath delivered yours of the 3rd of July, and likewise had full discourse with me of all those affairs; and though I esteem him a better soldier than a statesman, yet he has made me some propositions in the polite way, somewhat mixed with the martial, not to be despised, yet not to be hastily embraced without such a good commentary as you are able to make on them.

This cause only I confess were too slight to draw you, though but for a time, from your weighty charge; but I have much more, and indeed too much to desire your attendance and counsel for some time, which I think not fit to express by letter more than this. The Scots' Covenant[2] begins to spread too far: yet for all this, I

[1] Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. p. 372. On the king's return, the Scottish affairs were submitted to the consideration of a committee, consisting of archbishop Laud, the marquis of Hamilton, and Wentworth. The latter exhibited his usual impetuosity.

[2] Two or three days after this letter, Charles sent his instructions to Traquair, of which, says Burnet, Hamilton wrote to a Covenanter, "That if they were not worse than devils, they would rest satisfied."

will not have you take notice that I have sent for you, but pretend some other occasion of bnsiness, as to be present at the chancellor's appeal, or what you will else; whom since I have named, I must tell you freely, I would wish ye would send him over without delay, if he have performed most, though not all (his friends pretend all) which I enjoined him to do before his departure; if yet he stood not in some high contempt, which if it be, were most fit to be made clearly appear. It is very well done to go on with the Scotmans' oath. So I rest

Your most assured friend,

CHARLES R.

Berwick, 23rd July, 1639.[1]

Charles I. to the Earl of Traquair.[2]

Right trusty, we have hitherto commanded Hamilton to answer several of your letters; but that of the 16th of

[1] Received 5th of August, at Naas.

[2] MS. Harl. 841, f. 112. The earl of Traquair was the royal commissioner in Scotland. Charles thus writes to the bishop of St. Andrews:—"We do in part approve of what you have advised concerning the prorogating of the assembly and parliament, and must acknowledge it to be grounded upon reason enough, were reason only to be thought on in this business. But, considering the present estate of our affairs, and what we have promised in the articles of pacification, we may not (as we conceive) without great prejudice to ourself and service, condescend thereunto. Wherefore we are resolved, nay, rather necessitated, to hold the assembly and parliament at the time and place appointed. And for that end, we have nominated the earl of Traquair our commissioner, to whom we have given instructions, not only how to carry himself at the same; but a charge also to have a special care of your lordships and those of the inferior clergy, who have suffered for their duty to God and obedience to our commands. And we do hereby assure you, that it shall still be one of our chiefest studies how to rectify and establish the government of that church aright, and to repair your losses; which we desire you to be most confident of."—Harl. MSS.

August being of more weight than any of your former, we have thought fit to answer it ourself.

And, whereas you say that nothing will satisfy them, except *in terminis* the last assembly be named and ratified, or that way be given to the discharging of episcopacy as abjured in that church, as contrary to the confession of faith 1580, and the constitutions of the same; you being yet in some hope that the word abjured may be gotten changed, and that in drawing up the words of the act, it be only condemned, as contrary to the constitution of that church. We in this point leave you to your instructions, they being full, if you consider what we have said concerning episcopacy and the subscribing the confession of faith 1580: we thinking it fit hereupon to declare unto you that, let their madness be what it will, farther than we have declared in our instructions we will not go.

For the service-book, and book of canons, though we have been and are content it be discharged, yet we will never give our voice nor assent that they be condemned, as containing divers heads of popery and superstition. In like manner, though we have been and are content that the high commission be discharged, yet we will never acknowledge that it is without law, or destructive to the civil and ecclesiastical judicatories of that our kingdom, nor that the five articles of Perth, though discharged with our approbation, be condemned, as contrary to the foresaid confession. As concerning the late assemblies, we cannot give our consent to have them declared null, since they were so notoriously our father (of happy

memory) his acts ; it seeming strange that we having condescended[1] to the taking away all these things that they complained on,[2] which were done in those assemblies, they will not be content therewith, without laying an aspersion on our father's actions.

Wherefore, if the assembly will, in despite of your endeavours, conclude contrary to this, you are to protest against their proceedings in these points, and be sure not to ratify them in parliament.

Concerning the yearly indicting of general assemblies, and the confession of faith, we commanded Hamilton in his of the 16th to answer this point, to this effect,—that we think it infinitely to our prejudice, that we should assent to tie ourself to the keeping yearly of their assemblies, not needing to repeat the reasons, they being well enough known unto you ; seeing at Berwick it was conceived upon debate of that point, that you having power to indict a new one within the year, would save that dispute; which you are by all means to eschew. But, if that will not give satisfaction, you are by no means to give your assent to any such act, nor ratify the same in parliament.

The article in your instructions, which is only that the Covenant, in 1580, shall be subscribed, you must have an especial care of, and how you proceed therein; that the bond be the same which was in our father's

[1] Agreed; consented.

[2] Of. Now a barbarous vulgarism. What would be thought, if Queen Victoria told her parliament she had many matters to complain *on* ?

time, *mutatis mutandis*; and that you give your consent no otherwise to the interpretations thereof, than may stand with our future intentions well known to you, nor is the same to be otherwise ratified in parliament.

Thus, you have our pleasure fully signified in every particular of your letter, which you will find no ways contrary to our resolution taken at Berwick, and our instructions given you there. But, if the madness of our subjects be such, that will not rest satisfied with what we have given you power and authority to condescend to, which, notwithstanding all their insolences, we shall allow you to make good to them; we take God to witness that, what misery soever fall to that country hereafter, it is no fault of ours, but their own procurement. And hereupon we do command you that, if you cannot compose this business according to our instructions, and what we have now written, that you prorogue the parliament till the next Spring; and that you think upon some course how you may make publickly known to all our subjects, what we had given you power to condescend to. And, because it is not improbable that this may produce a present rupture, you are to warn and assist Ruthven for the defence of the castle of Edinburgh, and to take, in general, the like care of all our houses and forts in that kingdom; and likewise to advertise all such as are affected to our service, that timously [1] they may secure themselves. And so we bid you heartily farewell.

20th August, 1639.

[1] Early; in good time.

Charles I. to the Earl of Nithisdale.[1]

Nithisdale,

It is now time for me to bid you look to yourself; for longer than the 13th of next month I will not warrant you but that ye will hear of a breach betwixt me and my covenanting rebels. Of this I have written to the marquis of Douglas, but under condition of secrecy, the likewise I require of you. Only I permit you with the same caution to advertise Winton. For the rest, referring you to this bearer, who knows nothing of the substance of this letter, I rest

Your assured friend,

CHARLES R.

Whitehall, 27th March, 1640.

Assistance, by the grace of God, ye shall have, and as soon as I may; but when, as yet I cannot certainly tell you.

Charles I. to the Earl of Strafford.[2]

Strafford,

Having seen divers letters to my lord of Canterbury concerning the state of your health, and in this I

[1] MSS. in charter-room at Peregles. The 13th was the day on which the parliament was to meet. The promises held out by Charles in the postscript to this letter were not fulfilled.

[2] Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. ii., p. 409. Strafford was at Litchfield the following day, April 13th, when he received this. The "service lately done" by Strafford was his obtaining from the Irish parliament a grant of four subsidies, and a promise of two more, if they should be found to be required.

must require you not to hazard to travel before ye may do it with safety of your health, and in this I must require you not to be your own judge, but be content to follow the advice of those that are about you, whose affections and skill ye shall have occasion to trust unto; if I did know that this care of your health were necessary for us both at this time; I would have deferred my thanks to you for your service lately done, until I might have seen you. So, praying God for your speedy recovery, I rest

Your assured friend,

CHARLES R.

Whitehall, April 12th, 1640.

Charles I. to the Earl of Strafford.[1]

Strafford,

The misfortune that is fallen upon you by the strange mistaking and conjuncture of these times, being such, that I must lay by the thought of employing you hereafter in my affairs; yet I cannot satisfy myself in honour or conscience without assuring you (now in the midst of your troubles), that upon the word of a king you shall not suffer in life, honour, or fortune. This is but justice, and therefore a very mean reward from a master to so faithful and able a servant as you have

[1] Earl of Strafford's Letters, vol. ii., p. 416. This letter was written by Charles after the bill of attainder against Strafford had passed the Lower House (21st April). He relied, alas! too much on his power and his constancy. Some allowances must, of course, be made for the unprecedented position in which Charles was placed.

showed yourself to be; yet it is as much as I conceive the present times will permit, though none shall hinder me from being

Your constant, faithful friend,

CHARLES R.

Whitehall, April 23, 1641.

Charles I. to the House of Lords, in behalf of the Earl of Strafford.[1]

My lords,

I did yesterday satisfy the justice of the kingdom, by passing of the bill of attainder against the earl of Strafford; but mercy being as inherent and inseparable to a king as justice, I desire at this time, in some measure, to show that likewise, by suffering that unfortunate man to fulfil the natural course of his life in a close imprisonment, yet so that, if ever he make the least offer to escape, or offer, directly or indirectly, to meddle with any sort of public business, especially with me, either by message or letter, it shall cost him his life, without further press.

This, if it may be done without the discontent of my people, will be an unspeakable comfort to me; to which end, as in the first place, I by this letter do earnestly

[1] Harleian MSS., 1769, art. 12. The exertions of Charles in favour of Strafford are distinguished by a sincere appearance of affection for him, but unfortunately also marked by his indecision, want of judgment, and ignorance of the state of the public mind against him. The members of the Commons are described as having been perfectly astonished when the king declared, on his conscience, that he did not consider Strafford guilty of high treason, but of misdemeanours only.

desire your approbation; and to endear it the more, have chosen him[1] to carry, that of all your house is most dear to me; so I do desire, that by a conference you will endeavour to give the House of Commons contentment; likewise assuring you, that the exercise is no more pleasing to me than to see both Houses of Parliament consent, for my sake, that I should moderate the severity of the law in so important a case. I will not say, that your complying with me in this my pretended mercy, shall make me more willing, but certainly it will make me more cheerful in granting your just grievances; but, if no less than his life can satisfy my people, I must say, *fiat justitia*.

Thus again earnestly recommending the consideration of my intentions to you, I rest

Your unalterable and affectionate friend,

CHARLES R.

Whitehall, 10th May, 1641.

If he *must* die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday.[2]

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[1] This letter was delivered to the House by the prince in person.

[2] The following extract from the Parliament Journals will show what effect Charles's supplication had:—"This letter, all written with the king's own hand, we, the peers, this day received in parliament, delivered by the hands of the prince. It was twice read in the House, and, after serious and sad considerations, the House resolved presently to send it by one of the peers' messengers to the king, humbly to signify that neither of the two intentions expressed in the letter could, with duty to us, or without danger to his consort the queen, and all the young princes her children, possibly [be] advised with being accomplished, and more expressions offered; his majesty suffered no more words to come from us, but, of the fulness of his heart, to the observation of justice, and for the contentment of his people, told us, that what he intended

Charles I. to Mr. Nicholas.[1]

Edinburgh, 18th October, 1641.

I hear it is reported, that I am resolved, at my return, to alter the form of the church government in England to this here; therefore I command you to assure all my servants there, that I am constant for the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, as it was established by queen Elizabeth and my father; and resolve (by the grace of God) to live and die in the maintenance of it.

Charles I. to the Provost and Fellows of Oriel College, Oxford.[2]

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. We are so well satisfied with your readiness and affection to our

by letter was with an '*if* it might be done without discontentment of his people. If that could be, to say again the same that I write, *fiat justitia*, my other intention proceeding out of charity, for a few days' respite, was upon certain information that his estate was so distracted, that it necessarily required some few days' respite for settlement thereof.' Whereunto the lords answered—their purpose was, to be suitors to his majesty for favours to be showed to his innocent children; and if himself had made any provision for them, that the same might hold. This was well-liking to his majesty, who thereupon departed from the lords. At his majesty's parting we offered up into his hands the letter itself which he had sent; but he was pleased to say, 'what I have written to you, so shall I be content it be registered by you in your House; in it you see my mind—I hope you will use it to my honour.' This, upon return of the lords from the king, was presently reported to the House by the lord privy seal, and ordered, that these lines should go out with the king's letter, if any copy of the letter were desired."

[1] MS. Sloane, 1467, art. 37. This seems to be merely an extract. Nicholas was clerk to the council.

[2] MS. Registers of Oriel College.

service, that we cannot doubt but you will take all occasions to express the same; and as we are ready to sell or engage any of our land; so have we melted down our plate for the payment of our army, raised for our defence, and the preservation of our kingdom. And having received several quantities of plate from divers of our loving subjects, we have removed our mint hither to our city of Oxford, for the coining thereof.

And we do hereby desire you, that you will lend unto us all such plate, of what kind soever, which belongs to your college; promising you to see the same justly repaid unto you, after the rate of five shillings the ounce for white, and five-and-sixpence for gilt plate, as soon as God shall enable us. For, assure yourselves, we shall never let persons, of whom we have so great a care, suffer for their affection to us, but shall take special order for the repayment of what you have already lent us, according to our promise, and also of this you now lend in plate, well knowing it to be the goods of your college, that you ought not to alien; though no man will doubt but in such a case you may lawfully lend, to assist your king in such visible necessity.

And we have entrusted our trusty and well-beloved Sir William Parkhurst, knight, and Thomas Bushee, esquire, officers of our mint, or either of them, to receive the said plate from you; who, upon weighing thereof, shall give you a receipt under their, or one of their hands, for the same.

And we assure ourself of your willingness to gratify us herein; since, besides the more public considerations,

you cannot but know how much yourselves are concerned in our sufferings; and we shall ever remember this particular service to your advantage.

Given at our court at Oxford, the 6th day of January, 1642.[1]

Prince Charles to the Princess of Aurania.[2]

Most royal sister,

Methinks, although I cannot enjoy that former happiness which I was wont, in the fruition of your society, being barred those joys by the parting waves; yet I cannot forget the kindness I owe unto so dear a sister as not to write, also expecting the like salutation from you that thereby (although a while dissevered) we may reciprocally understand of each other's welfare. I could heartily, and with a fervent devotion, wish your return, were it not to lessen your delights in your loyal spouse the Prince of Orange, who, as I conceived by his last letter, was as joyful for your presence as we sad and mourning for your absence.

My father is very much disconsolate and troubled,

[1] This address was responded to by the ready and unconditional loan of all the silver and silver-gilt plate, one chalice excepted, which was reserved for the communion. Similar contributions were made at Cambridge. The master of Pembroke, about 1665, writes, "Pembroke Hall had a little of their old communion plate for pure necessity—a paten, a chalice, a flagon; the rest was sent to the king, to relieve him in the beginning of the rebellion."

[2] Rawlinson Collection of Letters, Bodleian Library. The prince was scarcely thirteen years old at the time this was written, and it is printed on a contemporary broadside, apparently for the object of being circulated throughout the country.

partly for my royal mother's and your absence, and partly for the disturbances of this kingdom. I could wish and daily pray that there might be a conjunct and perfect uniting between my father's majesty and his Parliament, that there might be a perfect concordance with them in the subject to the removal of the grievances of the country, and the renewing of our decayed joys. For, during their variance betwixt them, this kingdom must of necessity lie under most palpable danger through fear of foreign or domestic enemies, they having now the lamps of the all-discerning Parliament darkened, through the inconvenience of the many combustions now on foot.

As for the militia of the kingdom, it is not yet determined upon nor settled, which of itself is one of the principal fortitudes wherewith this kingdom is adorned.

Ireland was never in more danger than now of late, there being many towns in the province of Asper taken by the rebels, others endangered. But the last intelligence presented us with better news, wherein we understand of a fatal overthrow given the rebels' party, to their loss of ten thousand men; wherein O'Neal was supposed to be taken prisoner, Colonel Brunslow, and divers other of their officers likewise following him in his sad misfortune.

Dear sister, we are, as much as we may, merry; and more than we would, sad, in respect we cannot alter the present distempers of these turbulent times.

My father's resolution is now for York, where he intends to reside to see the event or sequel to these bad inprospitious beginnings; whither you may direct your

letter. Thus much desiring your comfortable answer to these my sad lines, I rest

Your loving brother,

CHARLES P.

Royston, March 9, 1642.

Charles I. to the Earl of Newcastle.[1]

Newcastle,

This is to tell you that this rebellion is grown to that height, that I must not look what opinion men are who at the time [are] willing and able to serve me. Therefore, I do not only permit, but command you to make use of all my loving subjects' services, without examining their consciences, (more than their loyalty to me) as you shall find most to conduce to the upholding of my just regal power. So I rest

Your most assured faithful friend,

CHARLES R.

Shrewsbury, 23rd September, 1642.

Charles I. to the Earl of Newcastle; with thanks, and announcing the sending of money to him.[2]

Newcastle,

Your endeavours are so really faithful and lucky in my service, that though I pretend not to thank you in words, yet I cannot but tell you of (though I can-

[1] MS. Harl., 6986, art. 69. This note is a striking evidence of the king's extreme anxiety to increase his forces at this critical period.

[2] MS. Harl., 6988, art. 71.

not all) the sense I have of them, when, as now, I have time and opportunity for it. This bearer will tell you of the defeat the rebels have gotten,[1] which referring to him, I will tell you of four thousand pounds I have sent you, for which do not too much thank me, for it may be, you should not have had it if I had known how it might have been speedily and safely conveyed hither, yet I think very well employed. That I have designed of you is to make what haste you can to come to join your forces with mine, for I suppose and hope that my wife will be come to you before you can be ready to march. I write this, that ye may be ready when she comes, or if (as it is possible) she should take another course, you might make haste without her; the certainty of which (I mean my wife's journey) you will know within few days, or hours after the return of this bearer.

This is all for this time. So I rest

Your most assured, constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Oxford, November 2, 1642.

Charles I. to the Marquis of Hamilton.[2]

Hamilton,

Though the trust of this bearer needs not a credential letter, yet the civility of a friend cannot but, under his hand as well as by word of mouth, express his kindness and resentment of courtesies, which of late hath been such, that you have given me just cause to give

[1] Referring to the battle of Edge-Hill, which had taken place in the previous month.

[2] MS. Harl., 841.

you better thanks than I will offer at in words. I shall not neglect the lazy use of so trusty a bearer, by referring to him not only the estate of my affairs here, but likewise in what way you will be of most use to me. Yet I cannot but tell you, I have set up my rest upon the justice of my cause; being resolved that no extremity or misfortune shall make me yield; for I will either be a glorious king or a patient martyr; and as yet not being the first, nor at this present apprehending the latter, I think it now no unfit time to express this my resolution unto you.

One thing more, (which but for the messenger were too much to trust to paper) the failing to one friend [1] hath indeed gone very near me. Wherefore, I am resolved that no consideration whatever shall ever make me do the like. Upon this ground, I am certain that God hath either so totally forgiven me, that he will still bless this good cause in my hands, or that my punishment shall be in this world, which, without performing what I have resolved, I cannot flatter myself will end here. This accustomed freedom will, I am confident, add cheerfulness to your honest resolutions, seeing besides generosity (to which I pretend a little) my conscience will make me stick to my friends; assuring you I have none if I am not

Your most assured, constant friend,

Oxford, 2nd December, 1642. CHARLES R.[2]

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[1] The Earl of Strafford. See p. 329.

[2] Headed by Burnet, p. 203, "An extraordinary letter of the king's." He adds the following note:—"This excellent letter will both show what

Charles I. to the Earl of Newcastle.[1]

Newcastle,

The services I have received from you hath been so eminent, and is likely to have so great an influence upon all my affairs, that I need tell you that I shall never forget it, but always look upon you as a principal instrument in keeping the crown upon my head. The business of Yorkshire I account almost done,[2] only I put you in mind to make yourself master (according as formerly but briefly I have written to you) of all the arms there, to ask them from the trained bands by several divisions to desire them from the rest of my well affected subjects, and to take them from the ill-affected, especially Leeds and Halifax. I have no greater need than of arms, nor means to supply myself than from you, and therefore I recommend to you the getting as many as you can from all the parts you may, and even from Newcastle, (whither

pious resentments his majesty carried along with him in the greatest perplexities of his affairs, and discover how he did not think that the marquis had either neglected or abused his trust. Lanerick acted with more briskness, and spoke more home and roundly than his brother, which preserved him in a high degree from the jealousies which the smoothness of his carriage brought upon him. Now the pulpits were not idle, for the ministers began again to work on the people, for the defence of the good cause now in hazard, which was echoed back with the applause of the vulgar."

[1] MS. Harl., 6988, art. 74.

[2] One of the counties that stood nearly neuter at this period. Parties were pretty equally divided in that part of the country, and they agreed on both sides to suspend hostilities, and aid in attempting to put an end to the civil war by which the country was beginning to be distracted. The queen, assisted by Newcastle, shortly afterwards succeeded in raising a diversion to the royal cause of no ordinary importance.

for future supplies I have ordered great store to be sent) into some safe magazine there. My next greatest want is dragooners, which I want the more because it is the rebels' (indeed only) strength, their foot having no inclination to winter marches; wherefore, if you could get there horse and arms so, and send these presently to me, they might be of very great advantage. You have likewise neighbours in Derbyshire, Cheshire, and Lancashire, who, for their good service, stand now in great need of your assistance, which I shall desire you to give, as far as will suit with my other service; and that you may do it the more effectually, I have given order that a commission be drawn for you to command all the countries beyond Trent. Lastly, I will put you in mind that some of your forces extended to Nottingham and Newark would make Lincolnshire extremely right, and restore those good subjects of mine who are now banished. So, desiring to hear often from you, I rest

Your most assured, constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Oxford, 15th December, 1642.

Charles I. to the Earl of Newcastle.[1]

Newcastle,

I thank you for your letter of the 25th December, and in particular for sending for my wife with that earnestness that ye have done. I give you free leave to disobey my warrants for issuing arms, for what I have

[1] MS. Harl. 6988, art. 75.

done in that was in supposition that you had enough for yourself and your friends, but having not, I confess charity begins at home. I wonder to hear you say that there are few arms in that country; for when I was there, to my knowledge there was twelve thousand of the trained bands (except some few Hotham [1] got into Hull) complete, besides those of particular men; therefore, in God's name, inquire what is become of them, and make use of them all, for those who are well affected will willingly give or lend them to you, and those who are not, make no bones to take them from them. As for your invitations to several places, do therein as you shall find best for my service, without looking to the little commodities of particular persons or shires; for though I may propose many things to your consideration, yet I shall not impose any thing upon you; as, for example, I hear General King is come; now I desire you to make use of him in your army. I am sure you have not good commanders to spare no more than arms, yet I confess there may be such reasons that may make this desire of mine impossible. I know Newport has that place he expected, to which I will only say that I wish you an abler in his room. You have had a little trial already; yet (according to my own rule) I do not command, but earnestly desire you to see if you can comply with this my desire. My conclusion is to assure you that I do not only trust in your fidelity, which (as Charles Chester said of Queen

[1] Sir John Hotham, who refused to surrender up Hull to the royalists, was proclaimed a traitor, and afterwards executed for returning to the side of Charles.

Elizabeth's faults) all the world takes on, but likewise to your judgment in my affairs; and ye may be confident that nothing shall alter me from being

Your most assured constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Oxford, 29th December, 1642.

I promise you to be weary of a treaty as you can desire. I pray you let me hear from you as oft as ye may.

Charles I. to the Queen.[1]

Oxford, February 13th, 1643.

Dear heart,

I never till now knew the good of ignorance; for I did not know the danger that thou wert in by the storm, before I had certain assurance of thy happy escape, we having had a pleasing false report of thy safe landing at Newcastle, which thine of the 19th January so confirmed us in, that we at least were not undeceived of that hope, till we knew certainly how great a danger thou hast passed, of which I shall not be out of apprehension, until I may have the happiness of thy company. For, indeed, I think it not the least of my misfortunes, that for my sake thou hast run so much hazard; in which thou hast expressed so much love to me that I confess it is impossible to repay by anything I can do, much less by words.

[1] The King's Cabinet Opened, 1645. The storm to which the king refers occurred on Henrietta's return to England from Holland in a ship called the Princess Royal. After having been beaten about for a fortnight, during the greater part of which time they were in absolute danger, the queen landed at the Hague, and was compelled to make another voyage.

But my heart being full of affection for thee, admiration of thee, and impatient passion of gratitude to thee, I could not but say something, leaving the rest to be read by thee out of thine own noble heart.

The intercepting of mine to thee of the 23rd February has bred great discourse in several persons and of several kinds; as my saying I was persecuted for places is applied to all and only those that I name there to be suitors, whereas the truth is, I meant thereby the importunity of others whom at that time I had not time to name, as well as some there mentioned; for I confess 174 and 133 are not guilty of that fault. Some find fault as too much kindness to thee; thou mayest easily vote[1] from what constellation that comes, but I assure such, that I want expression, not will, to do it ten times more to thee on all occasions. Others press me as being brought upon the stage; but I answer that, having professed to have thy advice, it were a wrong to thee to do anything before I had it. As for our treaty, leaving the particulars to this enclosed, I am confident thou wilt be content with it, as concerning my part in it; for all the soldiers are well pleased with what I have done, but expect no cessation of arms; for the Lower House will have none without a disbanding, and I will not disband till all be agreed. Lastly, for our military affairs, I thank God that here and in the west they prosper well; as for the north, I refer thee to 226 140 for information. So, daily expecting and praying for good news from thee, &c.

[1] Vow, or swear. (Lat.)

Charles I. to Richard Browne. [1]

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. We believe that before this letter the capucins of Somerset House, or some from them, will be arrived at Paris, and have represented there how disgracefully they were lately entreated at London. We are exceedingly displeased that so high an affront hath been put upon the treaty between us and the French king our brother, and upon our own authority; but forasmuch as this barbarous act is the child of that monstrous rebellion which goes big with confusion and destruction to our person and posterity as well as to our laws and rights, we will be clear of any imputation thereof, disavowing the same, the authors, actors, and abettors thereof, as we do disavow and detest all their treacherous machinations against us and the peace of our kingdom, leaving them obnoxious to the just indignation and revenge which God shall inflict upon them in his due time; and to this effect we will and command you in our name to make your address to our said dear brother the French king for his satisfaction and the discharge of our conscience and affection to him in this regard. And so we bid you farewell.

Given at our court at Oxford, the 5th day of April, in the nineteenth year of our reign. [2]

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[1] D'Ewes's MS. papers, British Museum.

[2] This evidently refers to the complaints, so long existing, against the queen's ecclesiastical establishment. So powerful was the popular feeling against popery, that the king was forced to proceed much further than his own intentions would have led him; for he not only offered, in a mes-

Charles I. to Prince Maurice.[1]

Nephew Maurice,

Though Mars be now most in vogue, yet Hymen may be sometimes remembered. The matter is this. Your mother and I have been somewhat engaged concerning a marriage between your brother Rupert and Mademoiselle de Rohan, and now her friends press your brother to a positive answer, which I find him resolved to give negatively; therefore, I have thought fit to know if you will not by your engagement take your brother handsomely off. I have not time to argue the matter; but, to show my judgment, I assure you that if my son James were of a fit age, I would want of my will but he should have her; and, indeed, the total rejecting of this alliance may do us some prejudice, whether ye look to these or German affairs, the performance of which is not expected until the times shall be reasonably settled, though I desire you to give me an answer as soon as you can (having now occasion to send to France), because delays are sometimes as ill taken as denials. So, hoping and praying God for good news from you, I rest

Your loving uncle and faithful friend,

Oxford, 4th July, 1643. CHARLES R.

For my nephew, Prince Maurice.

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sage to the parliament, to require by proclamation that all statutes concerning popish recusants should be put in execution, but that the seven popish priests should be banished, and all Romish priests to depart the kingdom in twenty days.

[1] MS. Harl. 6988, art. 88. The marriage here proposed did not take place.

Charles I. to the Mayor of Newbery. [1]

Our will and command is, that you forthwith send into the towns and villages adjacent, and bring thence all the sick and hurt soldiers of the earl of Essex's army; and though they be rebels, and deserve the punishment of traitors, yet out of our tender compassion upon them as being our subjects, our will and pleasure is, that ye carefully provide for their recovery, as well as for those of our own army, and then to send them to Oxford.

21st September, 1643.

To the mayor of Newbery.

Charles I. to the Queen. [2]

Oxford, Thursday, 14th January, 1644.

Dear heart,

Since my last by Choquen, I have had no means of writing, and as little new matter. That which is new is the progress of the treaty, of which these enclosed papers will give thee a full account. But if thou have them sooner from London than me, thou hast no reason to wonder, considering the length and uncertainty of the way I am forced to send by, in respect of the other. For the business itself, I believe thou wilt approve of my choice of treaters; and for my propositions, they differ

[1] Sanderson, p. 648. This letter was written soon after the battle of Newbury, which took place between Essex and the royal forces, with doubtful success on either side. It is a pleasing example of the king's generosity towards his enemies.

[2] The King's Cabinet Opened, 1645. Charles summoned a parliament at Oxford on January 22nd.

nothing in substance, very little in words, from those which were last. Wherefore I need to say nothing of them; and for my instructions, they are not yet made; but by the next I hope to send them.

Now, upon the whole matter I desire thee to show the queen[1] and ministers there the improbability that this present treaty should produce a peace, considering the great difference, if not contrariety, of grounds that are betwixt the rebels' propositions and mine; and, that I cannot alter mine, nor will they ever theirs, until they be out of hope to prevail by force; which a little assistance by thy means will soon make them do. For I am confident, if ever I could put them to a defensive (which a reasonable sum of money would do) they would be easily brought to reason. Concerning our interfering here at Oxford, I desire thee to suspend thy judgment; for I believe few but partial relations will come to thee, until I shall send some whom I may trust by word of mouth, it being too much trouble to us both to set them down in paper.

Charles I. to General Goring.[2]

Right trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.—We have seen the account which you have given our nephew Rupert[3] of the unfortunate loss of Weymouth;

[1] The Queen Regent of France. [2] MS. Sloane 1519, art. 25.

[3] The following very curious notice of Prince Rupert seems to have escaped the notice of our historians. Taylor, the water-poet, travelled to Bohemia, and in his description of Prague, he says,—"The castle where the king and queen do keep their court is magnificent and sumptuous in building, strongly situated and fortified by nature and art, being founded on a high hill, so that at pleasure it keeps the town in command, and it is

and, as we must expect disasters in war, so we hope you will not be disheartened by them from pursuing our service as vigorously as if you had had better success. Upon the whole matter, our express will and pleasure is, that you use all possible diligence to conjoin unto you all the forces you can make in those parts, as well those of Somersetshire as Sir John Berkley's, and those which we have commanded to march up unto you from Sir Richard

much more spacious in rooms for receipt, in gardens and orchards, than the Tower of London. I was in it daily the space of twenty days, and saw it royally graced with the presence of a gracious king and queen, who were honourably attended by a gallant courtly train of lords and ladies, and gentles of the high Dutch and Bohemians, and where was free and bountiful entertainment to strangers in abundance. I must ever humbly and thankfully acknowledge the queen's majesty's goodness towards me, whose undeserved favours were helpful unto me both there and in my tedious journey homeward. Moreover, there I saw (and had in mine arms) the king and queen's youngest son, Prince Robert, who was born there on the 16th of December last. A goodly child as ever I saw of that age, whom, with the rest, I pray God to bless, to his glory and his parents' joy and comfort.

There, for a token, I did think it meet
To take the shoes from off this prince his feet:
I do not say I stole, but I did take,
And whilst I live I'll keep them for his sake—
Long may his grace live to be styled a man,
And then I'll steal his boots, too, if I can.
The shoes were upright shoes, and so was he
That wore them, from all harm upright and free;
He us'd them for their use, and not for pride,
He never wrong'd them, or e'er trode aside.
Lambskin they were, as white as innocence,
(True patterns for the footsteps of a prince)
And time will come (as I do hope in God)
He that in childhood with these shoes was shod,
Shall with his manly feet once trample down
All anti-Christian foes to his renown.

Grenville; and that you apply yourself wholly to the clearing of those parts of the rebels' forces under Vandrosse, whilst the distraction among the rebels in these may give you the leisure, before their pouring down more forces upon you, which are not likely to be suddenly so great but that, if you be once conjoined with Berkley and Grenville, you may be strong enough to encounter them. We have appointed Digby to acquaint you more at large with the reasons of his command.

Given March 3rd, 1644.

Charles I. to the Earl of Newcastle.[1]

Newcastle,

By your last despatch I perceive that the Scots are not the only, or (it may be said) the enemies you contest withall at this time; wherefore I must tell you in a word (for I have not time to make long discourses), you must as much contemn the impertinent or malicious tongues and pens of those that are, or profess to be your friends, as well as you despise the sword of an equal enemy. The truth is, if either you, or my lord E—, then leave my service, I am sure (at least) all the north

[1] MS. Harl., 6988, art. 104. A letter in the Bodleian Library, written about this period by the king to the same nobleman, commences as follows:—"My wife has written so fully to you, that I have little to add but to assure you that I am well satisfied with the relation of your proceedings, by which I judge the Scots rebels to be in much worse case than your army, so that I hope to have good news from you shortly. But such as they happen to be, I pray let us have them at least once a week (indeed twice would be better); and though there be none, it contents us to know that, being much unsatisfied if we be long unhearing."

(I speak not all I think) is lost. Remember all courage is not in fighting, constancy in a good cause being the chief, and the despising of slanderous tongues and pens being not the least ingredient. I'll say no more, but let nothing dishearten you from doing that which is most for your honour and good of (the thought of leaving your charge being against book)

Your most assured real, constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Oxford, 5th April, 1644.

Charles I. to the Earl of Newcastle.[1]

Newcastle,

You need not doubt of the care I have of the north, and in particular of your assistance against the Scots' invasion, but you must consider that we, like you, cannot do always what we would; besides our task is not little that we struggle with, in which, if we fail, all you can do will be to little purpose; wherefore you may be assured of all assistance from hence that may be, without laying ourselves open to eminent danger, the particulars of which I refer you to my lord Digby, and rest

Your most assured real, constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Oxford, 11th April, 1644.

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[1] MS. Harl., 6988, art. 106.

Charles I. to Prince Rupert.[1]

Ticknell, 14th June, 1644.

Nephew,

First, I must congratulate with you for your good successes, assuring you that the things themselves are no more welcome to me than that you are the means. I know the importance of supplying you with powder, for which I have taken all possible ways, having sent both to Ireland and Bristol, as from Oxford this bearer is well satisfied that it is impossible to have at present: but if he tell you that I may spare them from hence, I leave you to judge, having but thirty-six left; but what I can get from Bristol (of which there is not much certainty, it being threatened to be besieged), you shall have.

But now I must give you the true state of my affairs, which, if their condition be such as enforces me to give you more peremptory commands than I would willingly do, you must not take it ill. If York be lost, I shall esteem my crown little less, unless supported by your sudden march to me, and a miraculous conquest in the south, before the effects of the northern power can be found here; but if York be relieved, and you beat the rebel armies of both kingdoms which are before it, then, but otherwise not, I may possibly make a shift (upon the defensive) to spin out time, until you come to assist me:

[1] MSS. in the Heralds' College. Rupert had met with signal success this spring in the northern counties. Marching from his quarters at Shrewsbury, he had compelled the parliamentary forces at Newark to capitulate, and had afterwards taken Stockport, Bolton, and Liverpool. This letter throws the responsibility of having hazarded the fatal battle of Marston Moor entirely on the advice of Charles himself.

wherefore I command and conjure you, by the duty and affection which I know you bear me, that (all new enterprises laid aside) you immediately march (according to your first intention) with all your force to the relief of York; but if that be either lost, or have freed themselves from the besiegers, or that for want of powder you cannot undertake that work, you immediately march with your whole strength to Worcester, to assist me and my army; without which, or your having relieved York by beating the Scots, all the successes you can afterwards have most infallibly will be useless to me. You may believe nothing but an extreme necessity could make me write thus to you; wherefore, in this case, I can noways doubt of your punctual compliance with

Your loving uncle and faithful friend,

CHARLES R.

I commanded this bearer to speak to you concerning Vavasor.

Charles I. to the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Westminster.[1]

Evesham, 4th July.

We being deeply sensible of the miseries and calamities of this our kingdom, and of the grievous sufferings of our poor subjects, do most earnestly desire that some expedient may be found out, which, by the blessing of God, may prevent the further effusion of blood, and restore the nation to peace, from the earnest and constant endeavouring of which, as no discouragement given us on the

[1] Nalson's MS. Collections, British Museum.

contrary part shall make us cease, so no success on ours shall ever divert us. For the effecting thereof we are most ready and willing to condescend to all that shall be for the good of us and our people, whether by the way of conformity, which we have already granted, or such further concessives as shall be requisite to the giving of a full assurance of all the performance of all our most real professions, concerning the maintenance of the true reformed Protestant religion established in this kingdom, with due regard to the ease of tender consciences, the just privileges of parliament, and the liberty and prosperity of the people, according to the laws of the land; as also by granting a general pardon without, or with exceptions, as shall be thought fit. In order to which blessed peace, we do desire and propound to the lords and commons of parliament assembled at Westminster, that they appoint such and so many persons as they shall think fit, sufficiently authorized by them to attend us at our army, upon safe conduct to come and return (which we do hereby grant), and conclude with us how the premises, and all other things in question betwixt us and them, may be fully settled, whereby all unhappy mistaking between us and our people being removed, there may be a present cessation of arms, and as soon as may be, a total disbanding of all armies, the subject have his due, and we be restored to our rights. Wherein, if this our offer shall be accepted, there shall be nothing wanting on our part which may make our people secure and happy.

Given at our court at Evesham, 4th July, 1644.

Charles I. to the Earl of Essex.[1]

Essex,

I have been very willing to believe, that whenever there should be such a conjuncture as to put it in your power to effect that happy settlement of this miserable kingdom, (which all good men desire) you would lay hold of it. That season is now before you, you having it at this time in your power to redeem your country and the crown, and to oblige your king in the highest degree (an action certainly of the greatest piety, prudence, and honour), such an opportunity as, perhaps, no subject before you hath ever had, or after you shall ever have; to which there is no more required, but that you join with me, heartily and really, in the settling of those things which we have both professed constantly to be our only aims. Let us do this: and if any shall be so foolishly unnatural as to oppose their king's, their country's, and their own good, we will make them happy (by God's blessing), even against their wills. The only impediment can be want of mutual confidence; I promise it you on my part, as I have endeavoured to prepare it on yours, by my letter to Hertford from Evesham. I hope this will perfect it, when (as I here do) I shall have engaged to you, on the word of a king, that you, joining with me in that blessed work, I shall give both to you and your army such eminent marks of my confidence and value, as shall not leave a room for the least distrust

[1] Nalson's MS. Collections. Essex was at Lestwithiel when he received the king's letter, which he forwarded to the parliament, observing it was his business to fight, that of the parliament to negociate.

amongst you, either in relation to the public or yourself, unto whom I shall then be

Your faithful friend,

Liskeard, August 6, 1644. C. R.

If you like of this, hearken to this bearer, whom I have fully instructed in particulars, but this will admit of no delay.

Charles I. to the Parliament.[1]

It having pleased God in so eminent a manner lately to bless our armies in these parts with success, we do not so much joy in that blessing for any other consideration, as for the hopes we have it may be a means to make others lay to heart, as we do, the miseries brought and continued upon our kingdoms by this unnatural war, and that it may open your ears, and dispose your mind to embrace those offers of peace and reconciliation, which have been so often and earnestly made unto you by us, and from the constant and firm endeavours of which we are resolved never to desist; in pursuance whereof we do, upon this occasion, conjure you to take into consideration our too long neglected message of the 4th of July, from Evesham,[2] which we again renew unto you; and that you will speedily send such an answer thereunto, as may show unto our poor subjects some light of deliverance from their present calamities

[1] Nalson's MS. Collections. The forces of the royalists against Essex had been most successful, and to this the king alludes at the commencement of his letter. Emboldened by his good fortune, he now expected to be enabled to compel the parliament to make peace.

[2] See this document at p. 350.

by a happy accommodation, toward which we do here engage the word of a king to make good all these things which we have therein promised, and really to endeavour a happy conclusion of this treaty; and so God direct you in the ways of peace.

Given at our court at Tavistock, September 8, 1644.

Charles I. to the Marquis of Newcastle, in final testimony of his services.[1]

Charles R.

Right trusty and entirely beloved cousin and councillor, we greet you well. The misfortune of our forces in the north, we know, is repented as sadly by you, as the present hazard of the loss of so considerable a portion of this our kingdom deserves: which also affects us the more, because in that loss so great proportion falls upon yourself, whose loyalty and eminent merit we have ever held, and shall still, in a very high degree of our royal esteem. And albeit the distracted condition of our affairs and kingdom will not afford us means at this present to comfort you in your sufferings, yet we shall ever retain so gracious a memory of your merit, as when it shall please God, in mercy, to restore us to peace, it shall be one of our principal endeavours to consider how to recompense those that have, with so great affection and courage as yourself, assisted us in the

[1] MS. Harl., 6988, art. 107. Newcastle retired to the continent after the battle of Marston Moor. He had for some time been on indifferent terms with Rupert, and it is stated that a dispute arose between them, before the battle, respecting the expediency of fighting.

time of our greatest necessity and troubles; and, in the mean time, if there be anything wherein we may express the reality of our good intentions to you, or the value we have of your person, we shall most readily do it upon any occasion that shall be ministered; and so we bid you very heartily farewell.

Given at our court at Oxford, the 28th day of November, 1644.

By his majesty's command,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

To our right trusty and entirely beloved cousin and councillor, William marquis of Newcastle.

Charles I. to the Queen.[1]

December, 1644.

Dear heart,

I know thy affection to me so truly grounded, that thou will be in as much if not more trouble to find my reputation as my life in danger. Therefore, lest the false sound of my offering a treaty to the rebels upon base and unsafe terms should disturb thy thoughts, I have thought it necessary (to assure thy mind from such rumours) to tell thee the ways I have used to come to a treaty, and upon what grounds.

I shall, first, show thee my grounds, to the end thou mayest the better understand and approve of my ways: then, know as a certain truth, that all, even my party, are strangely impatient for peace, which obliged me so much the more, at all occasions, to show my real inten-

[1] The King's Cabinet Opened, 1645.

tions to peace. And likewise, I am put in very good hope (some hold it a certainty) that, if I could come to a fair treaty, the ringleading rebels could not hinder me from a good peace: first, because their own party are most weary of the war, and likewise for the great distractions which at this time are most assuredly amongst themselves, as Presbyterians against Independents in religion, and general against general in point of command. Upon these grounds, a treaty being most desirable, not without hope of good success, the most probable means to procure it was to be used, which might stand with honour and safety. Amongst the rest, the sound of my return to London was thought to have so much force of popular rhetoric in it, that upon it a treaty would be had, or if refused, it would bring much prejudice to them, and advantage to me. Yet, lest foolish or malicious people should interpret this as to proceed from fear or folly, I have joined conditions to the proposition, (without which this sound will signify nothing) which thou wilt find to be most of the chief ingredients of an honourable and safe peace. Then, observe: if a treaty at London with commissioners for both sides may be had without it, it is not to be used; nor in case they will treat with nobody but myself; so that the conditions save any aspersion of dishonour; and the treating at London, the malignity which our factious spirits here may infuse into this treaty upon this subject. This I hope will secure thee from the trouble which otherwise may be caused by false malicious rumours; and, though I judge myself secure in thy thoughts from suspecting me guilty of any baseness, yet

I hold this account necessary, to the end that thou make others know, as well as thyself, this certain truth—"That no danger of death or misery (which I think much worse) shall make me do anything unworthy of thy love."

For the state of my present affairs, I refer thee to ninety-two, concluding, as I did in my last to thee, by conjuring thee, as thou lovest me, that no appearance of peace (and now I add, nor hopeful condition of mine) make thee neglect to haste succour for him who is eternally thine.

Charles I. to the Queen.[1]

Oxford, January 1, 1644-5.

Dear heart,

I receive it as a good augur thus to begin this new year, having newly received thine of the 30th December, which I cannot stay to decipher, for not losing this opportunity; it likewise being a just excuse for this short account. This day I have despatched Digby's secretary, fully relating the state of our affairs. There-

[1] The King's Cabinet Opened, 1645. Charles thus speaks of the publication of his private letters—"The taking of my letters was an opportunity, which as the malice of mine enemies could hardly have expected it, so they knew not how with honour and civility to use. Nor do I think, with sober and worthy minds, anything in them could tend so much to my reproach as the odious divulging of them did to the infamy of the divulgers. The greatest experiments of virtue and nobleness being discovered in the greatest advantages against an enemy, and the greatest obligations being those which are put upon us by them, from whom we could least have expected them. And such I should have esteemed the concealing of my papers, the freedom and secrecy of which command a civility from all men, not wholly barbarous; nor is there anything more inhumane than to expose them to public view."

fore, I shall only now tell thee that the rebels are engaged into an equal treat, without any of those disadvantages which might have been apprehended when Tom Elliot went hence; and that the distractions of London were never so great, or so likely to bring good effect as now; lastly, that assistance was never so needful, never so likely as now to do good to him who is eternally thine.

Charles I. to the Queen.[1]

Oxford, 2nd January, 1645.

Dear heart,

Having deciphered thine, which I received yesterday, I was much surprised to find thee blame me for neglecting to write to thee; for indeed I have often complained for want of, never missed any occasion of sending to thee; and, I assure thee, never any despatch went from either of my secretaries, without one from me, when I knew of it.

As for my calling those at London a Parliament, I shall refer thee to Digby for particular satisfaction; this in general: If there had been but two, besides myself, of my opinion, I had not done it; and the argument that prevailed with me was, that the calling did no ways acknowledge them to be a parliament; upon which condition and construction I did it, and no otherways; and accordingly by it is registered in the council books, with the council's unanimous approbation. But thou wilt

[1] The King's Cabinet Opened, 1645.

find it was by misfortune, not neglect, that thou hast been no sooner advertised of it.

As for the conclusion of thy letter, it would much trouble me, if thou didst not know thy desire granted before it was asked. Yet, I wonder not at it, since that which may bear a bad construction hath been presented to thee in the ugliest form; not having received the true reason and meaning of it. The fear of some such mischance made me the more careful to give thee a full account, by Tom Elliott, of the reasons of the D. of R. and E. of S. journey to London; which, if it come soon enough, I am confident will free thee from much trouble. But, if thou hast not the patience to forbear, judging harshly of my actions, before thou hearest the reasons of them from me, thou mayest be often subject to be doubly vexed, first with slanders, then with having given too much ear unto them. To conclude, esteem me as thou findest me constant to those grounds thou leftest me withal; and so, farewell, dear heart.

Charles I. to the Queen.[1]

14th January, 1644-5.

Dear heart,

Pooly came the 12-22 January, to whose great despatch, though for some days I cannot give a full answer, I cannot but at this opportunity reply to something in thy letter, not without relating to something of his discourse.

[1] The King's Cabinet Opened, 1645.

As I confess it a misfortune, but deny it a fault, thy not hearing oftener from me, so excuse me to deny that it can be of so ill consequence as thou mentionest, if their affections were so real as they make show of to thee. For the difficulty of sending is known to all, and the numbers of each letter will show my diligence. And certainly there goes no great wit to find out ways of sending; wherefore, if any be neglected more, then our wits are faulty. But to imagine that it can enter into the thought of any flesh living, that anybody here should hide from thee what is desired, that every one should know (excuse me to say it) is such a folly, that I shall not believe that any can think it, though he say it. And for my affection to thee, it will not be the miscarrying of a letter or two that will call it in question. But take heed that these discourses be not rather the effect of their weariness of thy company, than the true image of their thoughts. And of this is not the proposal of thy journey to Ireland a pretty instance? For seriously of itself I hold it one of the most extravagant propositions that I have heard; thy giving ear to it being most assuredly only to express thy love to me, and not thy judgment in my affairs.

As for the business itself, I mean the peace of Ireland, to show the care I have had of it and the fruits I hope to receive from it, I have sent the last despatches which I have sent concerning it, earnestly desiring thee to keep them to thyself. Only, thou mayest in general let the queen-regent and the ministers there understand that I have offered my Irish subjects so good satisfaction that a

peace will shortly ensue; which I really believe. But, for God's sake! let none know the particulars of my despatches. I cannot but tell thee that I am much beholden to the Portugal agent, and little to the French; it being by his means that I have sent thee all my letters, besides expresses, since I came hither, though I expected most from Sabran.

I will not trouble thee with repetitions of news, Digby's despatch being so full that I can add nothing. Yet I cannot but paraphrase a little upon that which he calls his superstitious observation. It is this: nothing can be more evident than that Strafford's innocent blood hath been one of the great causes of God's just judgments upon this nation by a furious civil war, both sides being hitherto almost equally punished, as being, in a manner, equally guilty. But now this last crying blood being totally theirs,[1] I believe it is no presumption to hope hereafter that His hand of justice must be heavier upon them, and lighter upon us, looking now upon our cause, having passed by our faults.

Charles I. to the Queen.[2]

30th January, 1645.

Dear heart,

Sunday last I received three letters from thee; one a duplicate of the 30th December, another of the

[1] The execution of Archbishop Laud, whose sad fate made a deep impression on Charles. However silly the archbishop may have been, his violent death was a stain on the popular party, and one cannot help regretting his sentence had not been more lenient.

[2] The King's Cabinet Opened, 1645.

6th January, and the last of the 14th January; and even now one Petit is come with a duplicate of the last; wherein, as I infinitely joy in the expressions of thy confident love to me, so I must extremely wonder that any who pretend to be a friend to our cause (for I believe thou wouldst not mention any information from the other side) can invent such lies, that thou hast had ill offices done to me by any; or that thy care for my assistance hath been the least suspected, it being so far from truth that the just contrary is true. For I protest to God, I never heard thee spoken of but with the greatest expressions of estimation for thy love of me, and particularly for thy diligent care for my assistance. But I am confident it is a branch of that root of knavery which I am now digging at; and of this I have more than a bare suspicion. And, indeed, if I were to find fault with thee, it should be for not taking so much care of thine own health as of my assistance; at least, not giving me so often account of it as I desire: these three last making no mention of thyself.

Now, as for the treaty which begins this day, I desire thee to be confident that I shall never make a peace [1] by abandoning my friends, nor such a one as will not stand with my honour and safety, of which I will say no more,

[1] The queen was most fearful of his trusting in anything to the Parliament. In a letter dated January 27th she says, "for the honour of God, trust not yourself in the hands of those people. If ever you go to London before the Parliament be ended, or without a good army, you are lost. I understand that the propositions for peace must begin by disbanding your army. If you consent to this, you are lost; they having the whole power of the militia, they have and will do whatsoever they will."

because, knowing thy love, I am sure thou must believe me, and make others likewise confident of me.

I send thee herewith my directions to my commissioners; but how I came to make them myself, without any others, Digby will tell thee, with all the news as well concerning military as cabalistical matters. At this time I will say no more, but that I shall in all things truly show myself to be eternally thine.

The Portugal agent hath made me two propositions; first, concerning the release of his master's brother, for which I shall have 50,000 crowns, if I can procure his liberty from the king of Spain; the other is, for a marriage betwixt my son Charles and his master's eldest daughter. For the first, I have freely undertaken to do what I can; and for the other, I will give such an answer as shall signify nothing.

I desire thee not to give too much credit to Sabran's relations, nor much countenance to the Irish agents in Paris; the particular reasons thou shalt have by Pooly, whom I intend for my next messenger. In the last place, I recommend to thee the care of Jersey and Guernsey, it being impossible for us here to do much, though we were rich, being weak at sea.

Charles I. to the Queen.[1]

Oxford, 19th February, 1645, old style.

Dear Heart, I cannot yet send thee any certain word concerning the issue of our treaty, only the unreason-

[1] The King's Cabinet Opened, 1645.

able stubbornness of the rebels gives daily less and less hopes of any accommodation this way. Wherefore I hope no rumours will hinder thee from hastening all thou mayest all possible assistance to me, and particularly that of the Duke of Lorraine's; concerning which I received yesterday good news from Doctor Goff, that the Prince of Orange will furnish shipping for his transportation, and that the rest of his negociation goes hopefully on. By which and many other ways I find thy affection so accompanied with dexterity, as I know not whether, in their several kinds, to esteem most. But I will say no more of this, lest thou mayest think that I pretend to do this way what is but possible to be done by the continued actions of my life.

Though I leave news to others, I cannot but tell thee that even now I have received certain intelligence of a great defeat given to Argyle by Montrose; who upon surprise totally routed those rebels — killed 1500 upon the place.[1] Yesterday, I received thine of the 27th January by the Portugal agent, the only way (but expresses) I am confident on, either to receive letters from thee, or to send them to thee. Indeed, Sabran sent me word yesterday, besides some compliments of the embargo of the rebels' ships in France (which I likewise put upon thy score of kindness) but is well enough content that the Portugal should be charged with thy despatches.

[1] Argyle's force was completely routed; at least one half of his followers were left dead on the field of battle. This decisive victory placed the north of Scotland entirely at the mercy of the royalists.

As for trusting the rebels, either by going to London or disbanding my army before a peace, do no ways fear my hazarding so cheaply or foolishly; for I esteem the interest thou hast in me at a far dearer rate, and pretend to have a little more wit than to put myself into the reverence of perfidious rebels. So, impatiently expecting the express thou hast promised me, I rest eternally thine.

I can now assure thee that Herrogen, the Irish agent, is an arrant knave; which shall be made manifest to thee by the first opportunity of sending pacquets.

Charles I. to the Queen.[1]

25th February, 1645.

Dear heart,

The expectation of an express from thee, as I find by the 4th February, is very good news to me; as likewise that thou art now well satisfied with my diligence in writing. As to our treaty, there is every day less hopes than ever that it will produce a peace; but I will absolutely promise thee, that if we have one, it shall be such as will invite thy return; for I avow that without thy company I can neither have peace nor comfort within myself. The limited days for treating with are now almost expired without the least agreement upon any one article; wherefore I have sent for enlargement of days, that the whole treaty may be laid open to the world. And I assure thee thou needst not doubt the issue of this treaty; for my commissioners are

[1] The King's Cabinet Opened, 1645.

so well chosen (though I say it) that they will neither be threatened nor disputed from the grounds I have given them, which (upon my word) is according to the little note thou so well rememberest. And in this, not only their obedience, but their judgments concur.

I confess, in some respects, thou hast reason to bid me beware of going too soon to London; for indeed some amongst us had a greater mind that way than was fit, of which persuasion Percy is one of the chief, who is shortly like to see thee; of whom, having said this, is enough to show thee how he is to be trusted or believed by thee concerning our proceedings here.

In short, there is *little* or no appearance but that this summer will be the hottest for war of any that hath been yet; and be confident, that in making peace I shall ever show my constancy in adhering to bishops and all our friends, and not forget to put a short period to this perpetual parliament. But as thou lovest me, let none persuade thee to slacken thine assistance for him who is eternally thine.

C. R.

Charles I. to the Queen.[1]

Dear heart, 5th March, 1645.

Now is come to pass what I foresaw, the fruitless end (as to a present peace) of this treaty; but I am still confident that I shall find very good effects of it; for besides that, my commissioners have offered (to say no more) full measured reason, and the rebels have

[1] The King's Cabinet Opened, 1645.

stucken rigidly to their demands, which I dare say had been too much, though they had taken me prisoner, so that assuredly the breach will light foully upon them.

We have likewise at this time discovered, and shall make it evidently appear to the world, that the English rebels (whether basely or ignorantly will be no very great difference) have, as much as in them lies, transmitted the command of Ireland from the crown of England to the Scots, which, besides the reflection it will have upon these rebels, will clearly show that reformation of the church is not the chief, much less the only end of the Scotch rebellion. But it being presumption, and no piety, so to trust to a good cause, and not to use all lawful means to maintain it, I have thought of one means more to furnish thee with for my assistance than hitherto thou hast had. It is that I give thee power to promise in my name (to whom thou thinkest most fit) that I will take away all the penal laws against the Roman Catholics in Ireland, as soon as God shall enable me to do it; so as by their means, or in their favours, I may have so powerful assistance as may deserve so great a favour, and enable me to do it.

But if thou ask what I call that *assistance*, I answer, that when thou knowest what may be done for it, it will be easily seen if it deserve to be so esteemed. I need not tell thee what secrecy this business requires; yet this I will say, that this is the greatest point of confidence I can express to thee; for it is no thanks to me to trust thee in any thing else but in this, which is the only thing of difference in opinion betwixt us. And

yet I know thou wilt make as good a bargain for me even in this; I trusting thee, though it concern religion, as if thou wert a Protestant — the visible good of my affairs so much depending on it. I have so fully trusted this bearer Pooly, that I will not say more to thee now, but that herewith I send thee a new cipher, assuring thee that none hath nor shall have any copy of it but myself; to the end thou mayest use it when thou shalt find fit to write anything which thou wilt judge worthy of thy pains to put in cipher, and to be deciphered by none but *me;* and so likewise from him to thee, who is eternally thine.

Charles I. to his Queen.[1]

Oxford, 13th March, old style.

Dear heart,

What I told thee last week concerning a good parting with our lords and commons here, was on Monday last handsomely performed; and now if I do anything unhandsome or disadvantageous to myself or friends, in order to a treaty, it will be merely my own fault. For I confess, when I wrote last, I was in fear to have been pressed to make some mean overtures to renew

[1] From "The King's Cabinet Opened, or, Certain Packets of Secret Letters and Papers written with the King's own hand, and taken in his cabinet at Naseby Field, June 14th, 1645, by Victorious Sir Thomas Fairfax." This work is stated to have been published "by special order of Parliament," and some writers have endeavoured to throw doubts on its authenticity. If the documents contained in it had been forged, they would probably have reflected more internal evidence against the character and intentions of Charles. Moreover, he himself admitted their genuineness.

the treaty (knowing that there was great labouring to that purpose.) But now I promise thee, if it be renewed (which I believe it will not, without some eminent good success on my side) it shall be to my honour and advantage, I being now as well freed from the place of base and mutinous motions (that is to say, our mongrel parliament here) as of the chief causers, for whom I may justly expect to be chidden by thee, for having suffered thee to be vexed by them; Wilmot being already there, Percy on his way, and Sussex within few days taking his journey to thee; but that I know thou carest not for a little trouble to free me from great inconveniences, yet I must tell thee, that if I knew not the perfect steadiness of thy love to me, I might reasonably apprehend that their repair to thee would rather prove a change than an end of their villanies; and I cannot deny but my confidence in thee was some cause of this permissive trouble to thee.

I have received thine of the third of March, by which thou puttest me in hopes of assistance of men and money; and it is no little expression of thy love to me, that (because of my business) festivals are troublesome to thee. But I see that assemblies in no countries are very agreeable to thee; and it may be done on purpose to make thee weary of their companies; and excuse me (to tell thee in earnest) that it is no wonder that mere statesmen should desire to be rid of thee. Therefore, I desire thee to think whether it would not much advantage thee to make a personal friendship with the queen-regent, without showing any distrust of her ministers,

though not wholly trusting to them, and to show her, that when her regency comes out, and possibly before, she may have need of her friends, so that she shall but serve herself by helping of thee, and to say no more; but certainly, if this rebellion had not begun to oppress me when it did, a late great queen had ended more gloriously than she did. In the last place, I desire thee to give me a weekly account of thy health; for I fear lest in that alone thou takest not care enough to express thy kindness to him, who is eternally thine.

The northern news is rather better than what we first heard; for what, by Sir Marmaduke Langdale's and Montrose's victories,[1] Carlisle and the rest of our northern garrisons are relieved, and we hope for this year secured; and besides all this, the northern horse are already returned, and joined with my nephew Rupert.

Charles I. to his Queen.[2]

Oxford, 20th March, 1645.

Dear heart,

Upon Saturday last I wrote to thee by Sabran (but this I believe may come as soon to thee),

[1] The short but brilliant successes of Montrose in the north had the effect of terrifying the covenanters, but seem to have rendered but little service to the royal cause. Wherever he appeared, says Dr. Lingard, he inflicted the severest injuries; but he made no permanent conquest; he did nothing to arrest that ruin which menaced the throne and its adherents.

[2] The King's Cabinet Opened, 1645.

and I have received thine of the 7th upon Monday last, which gave me great contentment, both in present and expectation (the quick passage being likewise a welcome circumstance). And yet I cannot but find a fault of omission in most of thy latter despatches, there being nothing in them concerning thy health. For, though I confess that in this no news is good news, yet I am not so satisfied without a more perfect assurance; and I hope thou wilt, by satisfying me, confess the justness of this my exception.

I am now full fraught with expectation (I pray God send me a good unlading), for I look daily for some blow of importance to be given about Taunton or Shrewsbury; and I am confidently assured of a considerable and sudden supply of men from Ireland,[1] likewise the refractory horse (as the London rebels call them) may be reckoned in; for yet it is not known what fomenters they have, or whether they have none; if the latter there is the more hope of gaining them to me: howsoever, I doubt not but if they stand out, good use may be made of them. Of this I believe to give thee a perfecter account next week, having sent to try their pulses. Petit came yesterday, but he, having at London thrust his despatches into the states ambassador's pacquet, I have not received them; and I would not stay

[1] "His majesty is also in expectation of a reinforcement of men from Ireland, from the parts towards the north of the country, so that appearance of good success on the whole, if all assurances come true, is not to be despaired of. There is smoke to come soon in the idea of all of us. God grant it may not end in smoke!"—Letter dated March 17th, Harleian MSS.

to lengthen this, in answer of them, nor give thee half hopes of good western news; knowing of an opportunity of writing to thee within these three or four days. Only I congratulate with thee for the safe arrival of thy tinne-adventure at Calais, and so farewell, sweet heart.

P.S.—Thine of the 10th I have newly received, whereby I find that thou much mistakest me concerning Ireland; for I desire nothing more than a race there, and never forbade thy commerce there, only I gave thee warning of some Irish in France, whom I then thought and now know to be knaves.

Charles I. to the Queen.[1]

Oxford, Thursday, 27th of March, 1645.

Dear heart,

I wrote to thee yesterday by Sakefield: the subject of it was only kindness to thee, which I assure thee shall ever be visible in all my actions. And now I come to Jermyn's account given me by thy command; which is very clear, hopeful in most particulars, and absolutely satisfactory as concerning thy care and industry.

As for the main impediment in the Duke of Lorraine's business, which is his passage,—why mayst thou not procure him passage through France, if that of Holland be stuck at? It will be much more secure, and facilitate the sea transportation in respect of landing on the western coast, which I believe will be found the best;

[1] The King's Cabinet Opened, 1645.

there being not so many places to choose on any where else. But this is an opinion, not a direction.

The general face of my affairs, methinks, begins to mend; the dissensions at London rather increasing than ceasing, Montrose daily prospering, my western business mending apace, and hopeful in all the rest. So that if I had reasonable supplies of money and powder [1] (not to exclude any other), I am confident to be in a better condition this year, than I have been since this rebellion began. And possibly I may put fair for the whole, and so enjoy thy company again, without which nothing can be a contentment to me. And so farewell, dear heart.

I intend, if thou like it, to bestow Percy's place upon the M. of Newcastle, to whom yet I am no ways engaged, nor will be, before I have thy answer. As for Jack Barclay, I do not remember that I gave thee any hope of making him Master of the Wards, for Cottingham had it long ago, before thou wentest hence, and I intended it to secretary Nicholas, if he then would have received it; and I am deceived if I did not tell thee of it.

I desire thee to command Lord Jermyn to read to thee the duke's letter, which goes herewith, and in it to mark well that part concerning the transportation of the Duke of Lorraine's army.

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[1] The royalists were constantly in want of this most necessary martial article. "The army is now in very fair condition, the only fear being too little ammunition for the projects on hand."—Letter of News, D'Ewes's MSS.

Charles I. to his Queen. [1]

Oxford, Sunday, 30th of March, 1645.

Dear heart,

Since my last, which was but three days ago, there are no alterations happened of moment, preparations rather than actions being yet our chief business, in which we hope that we proceed faster than the rebels, whose levies both of men and money for certain goes on very slowly; and I believe they are much weaker than is thought, even here at Oxford. For instance, a very honest servant of mine, and no fool, showed me a proposition from one of the most considerable London rebels, who will not let his name be known, until he have hope that his proposition will take effect. It is this, that since the treaty is broken off, neither the rebels nor I can resume it without, at least, a seeming total yielding to the other: the treaty should be renewed upon thy motion, with a pre-assurance, that the rebels will submit to reason.

The answer that I permitted my servant to give was, that thou art much the fittest person to be the means of so happy and glorious a work as is the peace of this kingdom; but that upon no terms was thy name to be profaned. Therefore he was to be satisfied of the rebels' willingness to yield to reason, before he would consent that any such intimation should be made to thee, and particularly concerning religion and the militia, that

[1] The King's Cabinet Opened, 1645.

nothing must be insisted upon, but according to my former offers. This I believe will come to nothing, yet I cannot but advertise thee of any thing that comes to my knowledge of this consequence.

I must again tell thee, that most assuredly France will be the best way for transportation of the Duke of Lorraine's army, there being divers fit and safe places of landing for them upon the western coasts, besides the ports under my obedience, as Shelsea, near Chichester and others; of which I will advertise thee when the time comes.

By my next I think to tell thee when I shall march into the field, for which money is now his greatest want (I need say no more) who is eternally thine.

Charles I. to the Queen.[1]

April 3, 1645.

This letter should have gone by a man of Master Denedsdale, who is gone, and all the beginning of this letter was upon this subject, and therefore by this man it signifies nothing; but the end was so pleasing, that I do not forbear to send it to you.

You now know by Elliot the issue of the business at Tadcaster. Since we had almost lost Scarborough whilst Chomley was here, Browne Bushell would have rendered it up to the parliament; but Chomley having had notice of it, is gone with our forces, and hath re-taken it, and

[1] The King's Cabinet Opened, 1645. This appears to be a postscript to a letter in the same collection, dated 30th March.

hath desired to have a lieutenant and forces of ours put within it; for which we should take his. He hath also taken two pinnaces from Hotham, which brought forty-four men to put within Scarborough, ten pieces of cannon, four barrels of powder, four of bullet. This is all our news. Our army marches to-morrow, to put an end to Fairfax's excellency. And I will make an end of this letter, this third of April. I have had no news of you since Parsons left.

Charles I. to the Queen.[1]

Oxford, 8th April, [1645.]

Dear heart,

I have with great joy received the welcome intelligence by the private messenger, 13 b. c. 19. 20, and this passage of our good news and fair hopes of our happy success at the last must be sent by a most secret and private messenger. I chiefly want your company for the best things, but I hope and pray that after a few months we may meet again with comfort, and that God in the mean time may give us both strength to endure vexations if many more be in store for us. Thus, with my dearest affections for you, I rest

Your faithful husband,

C. R.

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[1] Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library. I give the date of 1645 with some doubt, and am not able to point out the particular occasion on which this letter was written.

Charles I. to the Queen.[1]

Oxford, Wednesday, 9th April, 1645.

Dear heart,

Though it be an uncomfortable thing to write by a slow messenger, yet all occasions of this, which is now the only way of conversing with thee, is so welcome to me, as I shall be loth to lose any; but expect neither news nor public business from me by this way of conveyance. Yet, judging thee by myself, even these nothings will not be unwelcome to thee, though I should chide thee, which if I could I would do, for thy too sudden taking alarms.

I pray thee consider, since I love thee above all earthly things, and that my contentment is inseparably conjoined with thine, must not all my actions tend to serve and please thee? If thou knew what a life I lead (I speak not in respect of the common distractions), even in point of conversation, which in my mind is the chief joy or vexation of one's life, I dare say thou wouldest pity me; for some are too wise, others too foolish, some too busy, others too reserved, many fantastic. In a word, when I know none better (I speak not now in relation to business), then 3. 9. 8. 270. 55. 5. 7. 67. 18. 294. 35. 69. 16. 54. 6. 38. 1. 67. 68. 9. 66:[2] thou mayest easily judge how thy conversation pleased me. I confess

[1] The King's Cabinet Opened, 1645.

[2] The king added in a memorandum, "The little that is here in cipher is in that which I sent to thee by Pooly." See the conclusion of the letter dated March 5th.

thy company hath perhaps made me, in this, hard to be pleased, but not less to be pitied by thee, who art the only cure for this disease. The end of all is this, to desire thee to comfort me as often as thou canst with thy letters; and dost not thou think that to know particulars of thy health, and how thou spendest thy time, are pleasing subjects unto me, thou hast no other business to write of?

Believe me, sweet heart, thy kindness is as necessary to comfort my heart, as thy assistance is for my affairs.

Charles I. to the Queen.[1]

Oxford, Sunday, 4th May, 1645.

Dear heart,

The rebels' new brutish general hath refused to meddle with foreign passes, so as I cannot yet despatch Adrian May to thee by the way of London; which if I cannot very shortly, I will send him by the west. And now, if I could be assured of thy recovery, I should have but few melancholy thoughts, for I thank God my affairs begin to smile upon me again; Wales being well swept of the rebels, Farrington having relieved itself, and now being secured by Goring's coming, my nephews likewise having brought a strong party of horse and foot. These quarters are so free, that I hope to be marching in three or four days, and am still confident to have the start of the rebels this year.

[1] The King's Cabinet Opened, 1645.

I am likewise very hopeful that my son will shortly be at the head of a good army: for this I have the cheerful assurance of Culpepper and Hyde.

Of that I have been much pressed to make Southampton master of my horse, not more for good will to him, as out of fear that Hamilton might return to a capacity of re-cozening[1] me, wherein, if I had done nothing, both jealousies and discontents were likely to arise. Wherefore, I thought fit to put my nephew Rupert in that place; which will both save me charge, and stop other men's grumblings. I have now no more to say, but praying for and impatiently expecting of good news from thee, I rest eternally thine.

Charles 1. to the Queen.[2]

Droitwith, Wednesday, 14th May, 1645.

Dear heart,

Marching takes away the conveniency of sending my letters so safe and quick to thee, as when I was at Oxford. However, I shall not fail to do what I can to send often to thee. There is so little news for the present, as I will leave that subject for others; only upon Saturday last I received a despatch from Montrose, which assures me his condition to be so good, that he bids me be confident that his countrymen shall do me

[1] Hamilton had been accused of secretly leaguing with the Covenanters, and evidence had been offered to Wentworth on the subject, but declined from feelings of a personal nature.

[2] The King's Cabinet Opened, 1645.

no great harm this year; and, if I could lend him but five hundred horse, he would undertake to bring me 20,000 men before the end of this summer. For the general state of my affairs we all here think to be very hopeful;[1] this army being of a good strength, well ordered, and increasing, my son's such, that Fairfax will not be refused to be fought with; of which I hope thou wilt receive good satisfaction from himself. 'Tis true that I cannot brag for store of money, but a sharp sword always hinders starving at least; and I believe the rebels' coffers are not very full, and certainly we shall make as good a shift with empty purses as they, or they must have some greater defect, else their levies could not be so backward as they are; for I assure thee, I have at this instant many more men in the field than they. I am not very confident what their northern forces are, but, except they are much stronger than I am made believe, I may likewise include them.

Now I must make a complaint to thee of my son Charles, which troubles me the more, that thou mayest suspect I seek by equivocating to hide the breach of my word, which I hate above all things, especially to thee. It is this. He hath sent to desire me, that Sir John Greenfield may be sworn gentleman of his bedchamber, but already so publicly engaged in it, that the refusal would be a great disgrace to my son and the young gentleman, to whom it is not fit to give a distaste, especially now (con-

[1] In a letter to Sir E. Nicholas, dated on the 18th, the king writes, "We are, God be thanked, all well and in heart, the rebels having twice offered to beat up some of our quarters, but with loss to themselves."

sidering his father's merits), his own hopefulness, besides the great power that family has in the west. Yet I have refused the admitting of him, till I shall hear from thee. Wherefore, I desire thee, first to chide my son for engaging himself without one of our consents; then not to refuse thy own consent; and lastly, to believe that directly or indirectly I never knew of this, while yesterday at the delivery of my son's letter.

So farewell, sweet heart, and God send me good news from thee.

Charles I. to his Queen.[1]

Dear heart, 9th June, 1645.

Oxford being free, I hope this will come sooner to thee than otherwise I could have expected, which makes me believe that my good news will not be very stale, which in short is this: since the taking of Leicester, my marching down hither to relieve Oxford made the rebels raise their siege before I could come near them, having had their quarters once or twice beaten up by that garrison, and lost four hundred men at an assault before Bostoll House. At first I thought they would have fought with me, being marched as far as Brackley, but are since gone aside to Brick Hill, so as I believe they are weaker than they are thought to be, whether by their distractions, which are certainly very great, (Fairfax and Brown having been at cudgels, and

[1] The King's Cabinet Opened, 1645.

his men and Cromwell's likewise at blows together, where a captain was slain,) or wasting their men, I will not say.

Besides, Goring[1] hath given a great defeat to the western rebels, but I do not yet know the particulars. Wherefore I may, without being too much sanguine, affirm that, since this rebellion, my affairs were never in so fair and hopeful a way, though, among ourselves, we want not our follies, but such as I am confident shall do no harm, nor much trouble me. Yet I must tell thee that it is thy letter by Fitzwilliams, assuring me of thy perfect recovery, with thy wonted kindness, which maketh me capable of taking contentment in these good successes. For, as divers men propose several recompenses to themselves for their pains and hazard in this rebellion, so thy company is the only reward I expect and wish for.

Charles I. to the Earl of Glamorgan.[2]

Hereford, 23rd June, 1645.

Glamorgan,

I am glad to hear that you are gone to Ireland; and assure you that as myself is noways disheartened by our late misfortune, so neither this country,

[1] Goring was shortly afterwards defeated by Fairfax at Lamport. The army he commanded was then the principal hope of the royalists.

[2] MS. Harl. 6988, art. 112. Herbert, Earl of Glamorgan, had lately reached Ireland, having undertaken the delicate task of organizing the Roman Catholic army in the royal cause, and granting them concessions to their religion, without compromising the character of Charles. His instructions were strictly private; they were not brought before the council, although it is believed that Glamorgan admitted Ormond into his confidence.

for I could not have expected more from them than they have now freely undertaken, though I had come hither absolute victorious, which makes me hope well of the neighbouring shires, so that (by the grace of God) I hope shortly to recover my late loss with advantage, if such succours come to me from that kingdom which I have reason to expect: but the circumstances of time is that of the greatest consequence, being that which is now chiefliest and earnestliest recommended to you by

Your most assured real constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Charles I. to Prince Rupert.[1]

Cardiff, 31st July, 1645.

Nephew,

This is occasioned by a letter of yours, that the duke of Richmond showed me yesternight. And, first, I assure you that I have been, and so will be, very careful to advertise you of my resolutions, how soon they were taken; and, if I enjoined you silence to that which was no secret, it was not my fault; for I thought it one, and I am sure it ought to have been so. Now, as for your opinion of my business, and your counsel thereupon, if I had any other quarrel but the defence of my religion, crown, and friends, you had full reason for your advice; for I confess that, speaking either as a mere soldier or statesman, I must say that there is no probability but of my ruin; yet, as a Christian,

[1] MS. Harl. 4231. Charles was at this time buoyed up with the firm impression that Montrose would achieve wonders for him in Scotland, and he also confidently expected a large supply of men from Ireland.

I must tell you that God will not suffer rebels and traitors to prosper, or this cause to be overthrown. And whatsoever personal punishments it shall please them to inflict upon me must not make me repine, much less give over this quarrel; and there is as little question that a composition with them at this time is nothing else but a submission, which, by the grace of God, I am resolved against, whatever it cost me; for I know my obligation to be, both in conscience and honour, neither to abandon God's cause, injure my successors, or forsake my friends. Indeed, I cannot flatter myself with expectation of good success, more than this, to end my days with honour and a good conscience, which obliges me so to continue my endeavours, as not despairing but that God may yet, in my time, avenge His own cause, though I must avow to all my friends that he who will stay with me at this time must expect and resolve to die for a good cause; or (what is worse) to live as miserable in maintaining it as the violent rage of insulting rebels can make him.

Having thus truly, and I believe impartially, stated my case unto you, and plainly told you my positive resolutions, which, by the grace of God, I will not alter, they being neither lightly nor suddenly grounded, I earnestly desire you no ways to hanker after treaties, assuring you, as low as I am, I will go no less than was last offered in my name at Uxbridge, confessing that it were as great a miracle that they should agree to so much reason, as that I should be, within a month, in the same condition I was in immediately before the

battle of Naseby. Therefore, for God's sake, let us not flatter ourselves with those conceits; and believe me, the very imagination that you are desirous of a treaty, (for that at this time, and a submission is all one) will but lose me so much the sooner.

Wherefore, as you love me, whatsoever you have already done, apply your discourses hereafter according to my resolutions and judgment; as for the first, I assure you they shall not cheat me, but it is possible they may cozen themselves; for, be assured what I have refused to the English I will not grant to the Irish rebels, never trusting to that kind of people (of what nation soever) more than I see by their actions; and I am now sending such a despatch to Ormond as I am sure will please you and all honest men, a copy whereof by the first opportunity you shall have. Lastly, be confident that I would not have put you nor myself to the trouble of this long letter, had I not a great estimation of you, and full confidence in your friendship to

CHARLES REX.

Charles I. to the Marquis of Ormond.[1]

Ormond,

I find by yours to Dighby that you are somewhat cautious not to conclude the peace, without at least the concurrence of the council there, which, if you could procure, I confess it would be so much the better. And therefore I have sent herewithal another

[1] Harleian MSS. 4231, p. 11.

letter to you, to be communicated to them, which takes off those restrictions that I laid formerly upon you in a public letter. But the fresh peace is of such absolute necessity, that no compliments or particular respects whatsoever must hinder it. Wherefore I absolutely command you, and without reply, to execute the directions I sent you the 27th February last; giving you leave to get the approbation of the council, so as, and no otherwise, that by seeking it, you do not hazard the peace, or so much as an affront, by their foolish refusing to concur with you, promising you, upon the word of a king, if God prosper me, you shall be so far from receiving any prejudice by doing this so necessary work, though alone, that I will account it as one of the chiefest of your great services to me, and accordingly you shall be thought upon by, &c.

Cardiffe, July 31st, 1645.

Charles I. to Sir Edward Nicholas. [1]

Cardiff, 4th August, 1645.

Nicholas,

Having commanded your fellow secretary to give you a full account as well of our proceedings here as resolutions, I will neither trouble you nor myself with repetitions; only for myself I must desire you to let every one know that no distress of fortune whatsoever shall ever make me, by the grace of God, in anything

[1] Evelyn MSS. The "fellow secretary" alluded to was Lord Digby.

recede from those grounds I laid down to you, who were my commissioners at Uxbridge, and which, I thank them, the rebels have published in print; and, though I could have wished that pains had been spared, yet I will neither deny that those things are mine which they have set out in my name, (only some words here and there mistaken, and some commas misplaced, but not much material) nor, as a good Protestant or honest man, blush for any of those papers. Indeed, as a discreet man, I will not justify myself, and yet I would fain know him who would be willing that the freedom of all his private letters were publicly seen, as mine have now been. Howsoever, so that one clause be rightly understood, I care not much though the rest take their fortunes; it is concerning the Mongrel parliament. The truth is, that Sussex's [1] factiousness at that time put me somewhat out of patience, which made me freely vent my displeasure against those of his party to my wife; and the intention of that phrase was, that his faction did what they could to make it come to that, by their raising and fomenting of base propositions. This is clearly evidenced by my following excuse to her for suffering those people to trouble her, the reason being, to eschew those greater inconveniences which they had and were more likely to cause here than there. I am going to supper; so I rest

Your most assured friend,

CHARLES R.

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[1] Thomas Lord Saville, recently created Earl of Sussex.

Charles I. to Sir Edward Nicholas.[1]

Doncaster, 18th August, 1645.

Nicholas,

I have sent this bearer expressly to give you a particular account of my present condition, which, considering what it was at the beginning of this month, is now, I thank God, miraculously good; and indeed the gentlemen in these parts show themselves really affectionate and hearty in my service; acting cheerfully (without any grumbling) what I desire. Now I expect, not only that (like ants) you have plentifully provided yourselves for winter, but likewise that you so recruit yourselves in men and arms, that it may be a lusty stock for a next year's army.

So I rest your assured friend,

CHARLES R.

As I have commanded my son to commend me to all the ladies, so you must to all the lords, my friends, and particularly to Vulpone, and tell the governor that he has forgotten that he sent me a cipher.

Charles I. to Sir Edward Nicholas.[2]

Huntingtown, 25th August, 1645.

Nicholas,

I have this morning received yours of the 13th August, with four printed Oxford papers, concerning my published letters, and am glad to find that you there make so fair (indeed just, as concerning my religion, kingdoms and friends) an interpretation of them, and

[1] Evelyn MSS. [2] Evelyn MSS.

particularly that you have so great a confidence in my constancy to my just cause; and now methinks I were to blame, if I did not justify the truth of your opinions concerning me by my own declaration, which is this, that let my condition be never so low, my successes never so ill, I resolve, by the grace of God, never to yield up this church to the government of Papists, Presbyterians, or Independents, nor to injure my successors, by lessening the crown of that ecclesiastical and military power which my predecessors left me, nor forsake my friends, much less to let them suffer when I do not for their faithfulness to me; resolving sooner to live as miserable as the violent rage of successful insulting rebels can make me (which I esteem far worse than death) rather than not to be exactly constant to these grounds; from which, whosoever, upon whatsoever occasion, shall persuade me to recede in the least tittle, I shall esteem him either a fool or a knave; but you will ask me, *quorsum hoc?* Yes; for without this warning, the tender personal affection of some might give me troublesome advice, and yet not blameable, considering the present condition of my affairs, and not knowing this my resolution, which I command you to publish to all whom their quality or judgment makes fit for such discourses, and so I rest

Your most assured friend, CHARLES R.

You may say confidently, and give me for author, that the peace of Ireland is concluded, not yet knowing the particular conditions.[1]

[1] Endorsed by Nicholas, "The king to me from Huntingdon, containing his resolution never to quit the church government, his friends, or to diminish the crown of that military or ecclesiastical power which was left him by his predecessors."

Charles I. to Sir Edward Nicholas.[1]

Ragland, 9th September, 1645.

Nicholas,

I received yesterday both of your letters (for I perceive by their marks that you have yet written no more) with the advertisements from London, which as you say is worthy my notice, but without considering make this answer, that the just contrary concerning the new discovery of my commission in a letter to the two queens[2] about the Irish Papists is true; for indeed that rogue Hartogen made such a foolish proposition, but it was flatly denied by me; and, if my memory much fail me not, my wife took occasion upon some clause in my answer, whereby it seemed to her (in which she was mistaken) as if I thought she had liked the proposition, to disclaim any part in it (so far from approbation) but only the transmitting of it to me, which certainly was not fit for her to refuse; and this (with many other handsome expressions of her affection to me, even to the venturing of being thought a Protestant in condemning the Irish proceedings) was, as I believe, in that letter which Tom Elliot delivered to me from her, as I was marching over Broadway Hills the 9th of May last; for I am sure the most of that letter was concerning the Irish business, and I know the reason why the rebels have not printed it is, because it clears that point more

[1] Evelyn MSS.

[2] Queen Henrietta Maria, and her mother the queen of France, the widow of Henry IV.

than any of those between us which are published. That all this is true, and that the rebels have all this under my wife's hand and mine, I command you to affirm positively in my name upon all occasions of this subject. But it is possible that all I mention to be, is not in the letter Tom Elliot brought me (though I am sure most is), but then it is in some other. So you see clearly the truth of this business, by which, if it be brought to light (which I command you to endeavour with all possible industry), I must have honour; for where my own justifies me (which I am sure my wife can produce, let the rebels do what they will), I care not what liars can invent in this kind. For what else remains unanswered in your two letters, I refer you to your fellow-secretary, and rest

Your most assured friend,

CHARLES R.

Charles I. to Sir Edward Nicholas.[1]

Nicholas,

When you shall have considered the strange and most inexcusable delivery up of the castle and fort of Bristol, and compared it with those many preceding advertisements which have been given me, I make no

[1] Evelyn MSS. The letter of Charles to Rupert was deservedly most severe, and its commencement may as well be given in illustration of the present document:—"Though the loss of Bristol be a great blow to me, yet your surrendering it as you did is of so much affliction to me, that it makes me forget not only the consideration of that place, but is likewise the greatest trial of my constancy that has yet befallen me. For, what is to be done? after one, that is so near to me as you are both in blood

doubt but you and all my council there will conclude that I could do no less than what you will find here enclosed, in my care of the preservation of my son, of all you my faithful servants there, and of that important place, my city of Oxford.

In the first place, you will find a copy of my letter to my nephew; secondly, a revocation of his commission of general; thirdly, a warrant to Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton to exercise the charge of lieutenant-governor of Oxford in Sir Thomas Glenham's absence; fourthly, a warrant to the said Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton to apprehend the person of Will Legge, present governor of Oxford; and, lastly, a warrant to be directed to what person shall be thought fittest for the apprehending my nephew Rupert, in case of such extremity as shall be hereafter specified, and not otherwise.

As for the circumstances and the timing of the execution of all these particulars, as far forth as they may admit of some hours' delay more or less, I must refer it to my lord treasurer's [1] care and yours to advise of, upon the place, how it may be done with most security, and accordingly to direct the manner of proceeding. But yet I shall tell you my opinion as far forth as I can judge at this distance, which is, that you should begin

and friendship, submits himself to so mean an action (I give it the easiest term): I have so much to say, that I will say no more of it, lest rashness of judgment be laid to my charge; only I must remember you of your letter of the 12th of August, whereby you assured me that (if no mutiny happened) you would keep Bristol for four months; did you keep it for four days? Was there anything like mutiny? More questions might be asked; but now, I confess, to little purpose."

[1] Sir John Culpepper.

with securing the person of Will Legge, before anything be declared concerning my nephew. But that once done, then the sooner you declare to the lords both the revoking of my nephew's commission, and my making Sir Thomas Glenham governor of Oxford, the better. As for the delivery of my letter to my nephew, if he be at Oxford, I take the proper time for that to be as soon as possible may be after the securing of Will Legge. But if my nephew be not there, I would then have you hasten my letter unto him; and, in the mean time, put the rest in execution. The warrant for my nephew's commitment is only that you may have the power to do it, if, instead of submitting to and obeying my commands in going beyond sea, you shall find that he practice the raising of mutiny, or any other disturbance in that place, or any other, in which case, the said warrant for his commitment is to be delivered unto whom you and my lord treasurer shall think fittest to be directed unto, and by that person to be put in execution.

Lastly, I enjoin you the care to let all the lords know, that whatever is done in this kind is out of my tender regard of their safety and preservation; and that they shall speedily receive for their satisfaction a particular account of the reasons of this necessary proceeding. I rest

Your most assured friend,

Hereford, September 14, 1645. CHARLES R.

Tell my son that I shall less grieve to hear that he is knocked on the head than that he should do so mean an action as is the rendering of Bristol castle and fort upon the terms it was. C. R.

Prince Charles to Sir Thomas Fairfax.[1]

We have so deep a sense of the present miseries and calamities of this kingdom, that there is nothing we more earnestly pray for to Almighty God, than that He would be pleased to restore unto it a happy peace; and we should think it a great blessing of God upon us as if we might be so happy as to be an instrument in the advancing of it; and therefore we have resolved to send two of our council unto the king our father, with some such overtures as we are hopeful may conduce thereunto; and do hereby desire you to send or procure from the lords and commons assembled in parliament at Westminster a safe-conduct for the Lord Hopton and Lord Culpepper, with twelve servants to go to our royal father, and to return to us; and we shall then manifest to the world our most earnest endeavours to stop this issue of blood, which must otherwise, in a short time, render this unhappy land most miserable.

Given at our court at Exeter, this 15th day of September, 1645.

CHARLES P.

Charles I. to Prince Maurice, on Prince Rupert's conduct.[2]

Newtown, 20th September, 1645.

Nephew,

What through want of time, or unwillingness to speak to you of so unpleasing a subject, I have

[1] Harleian MSS. Nalson's Collections.

[2] MS. Harl. 6988, art. 116. Charles was at Ragland Castle when he heard that Bristol had surrendered to the enemy, in the third week of

not yet (which now I must supply) spoken to you freely of your brother Rupert's present condition. The truth is, that his unhandsome quitting the castle and fort of Bristol hath enforced me to put him off those commands in my army, and have sent him a pass to go beyond seas; now, though I could do no less than this, for which, believe me, I have too much reason upon strict examination, yet I assure you, that I am most confident that this great error of his (which, indeed, hath given me more grief than any misfortune since this damnable rebellion) hath no ways proceeded from his change of affection to me or my cause; but merely by having his judgment seduced by rotten-hearted[1] villains, making fair pretensions to him; and I am resolved so little to forget his former services, that, whensoever it shall please God to enable me to look upon my friends like a king, he shall thank God for the pains he hath spent in my armies. So much for him. Now for yourself. I know you to be so free from his present misfortune, that it no ways staggers me in that good opinion which I have ever had of you; and, so long as you shall not be weary of your employments under me, I will give you all the encouragement and contentment that lies in my power; however, you shall always find me

Your loving uncle, and most assured friend,

CHARLES R.

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the siege, by a prince who had promised to maintain it for four months, and on whose courage the unfortunate sovereign had every reason to place implicit reliance.

[1] This word in the original is an interlineation; the forcible expression was recollected by Charles; he had formerly heard it from the mobs, who on one occasion we find exclaimed against "Rotten-hearted lords."

Charles I. to the Marquis of Ormond.[1]

Ormond,

It hath pleased God by many successive misfortunes to reduce my affairs of late from a very prosperous condition to so low an ebb, as to be a perfect trial of all men's integrity to me; and you being a person whom I consider as most entirely and generously resolved to stand and fall with your king, I do principally rely upon you for your uttermost assistance in my present hazards. I have commanded Digby to acquaint you at large with all particulars of my condition—what I have to hope, trust to, or fear; wherein you will find that, if my expectation of relief out of Ireland be not, in some good measure and speedily, answered, I am likely to be reduced to great extremities.

I hope some of those expresses I sent you, since my misfortune by the battle of Naseby,[2] are come to you; and I am, therefore, confident that you are in a good forwardness for the sending over to me a considerable supply of men, artillery, and ammunition. All that I have to add is, that the necessity for your speedy performing them is made much more pressing by new disasters; so that I absolutely command you, what hazard soever that kingdom may run by it, personally to bring me all the forces of what sort soever you can draw from thence, and leave the government there, during your absence, in the fittest hands that you shall judge, to dis-

[1] MS. Harl. 4231, fol. 11.

[2] This fixes the date of the letter to the latter part of the year 1645.

charge it; for I may not want[1] you here to command those forces which will be brought from thence, and such as from hence shall be joined to them.

But you must not understand this as a permission for you to grant to the Irish (in case they will not otherwise have a peace) anything more in matters of religion, than what I have allowed you already, except only in some convenient parishes. Where the much greater number are Papists, I give you power to permit them to have some places, which they may use as chapels for their devotions; if there be no other impediment for obtaining a peace. But I will rather choose to suffer all extremities than ever to abandon my religion,[2] and particularly either to English or Irish rebels. For which effect, I have commanded Digby to write to their agents, that were employed hither; giving you power to cause to be delivered, or suppress the letter, as you shall judge best for my service.

To conclude, if the Irish shall so unworthily take advantage of my weak condition, as to press me to that, which I cannot grant with a safe conscience, and without it to reject a peace; I command you, if you can, to procure a further cessation; if not, to make what divisions you can amongst them, and rather leave it to the chance of war between them and those forces which you cannot draw to my assistance, than to give my consent to any

[1] *i. e.* I cannot dispense with. The phrase is idiomatic, borrowed from the French.

[2] And this was written at a time when he had entrusted to the earl of Glamorgan powers sufficient to crush it!

such allowance of Popery, as must evidently bring destruction to that profession, which, by the grace of God, I shall ever maintain through all extremities. I know, Ormond, I impose a very hard task upon you; but, if God prosper me, you will be a happy and a glorious subject; if otherwise, you will perish nobly and generously with and for him, who is ever

Your faithful sovereign and friend,

CHARLES R.

Charles I. to the Pope. A.D. 1645.[1]

Most holy father,

So many and so great proofs of the fidelity and affection of our cousin the earl of Glamorgan we have received, and such confidence do we deservedly repose in him, that your holiness may justly give faith and credence to him in any matter, whereupon he is to treat, in our name, with your holiness, either by himself in person or by any other. Moreover, whatever shall have been positively settled and determined by him, the same we promise to sanction and perform. In testimony whereof, we have written this very brief letter, confirmed by our own hand and seal; and we have in our wishes and prayers nothing before this, that by your favour we may be re-

[1] Original in the Vatican Library. Charles, after his reverses in this year, gave the Earl of Glamorgan an unlimited commission to concert measures with his holiness for the retrieving of his affairs and the recovery of his estate. This letter is here translated from the Latin, and a similar communication was made by Charles to the Cardinal Spada.

stored into that state, in which we may openly avow ourself

Your very humble and obedient servant,

CHARLES R.

At our court at Oxford, October 20th.

Charles I. to Sir Henry Vane, the younger.[1]

2nd March, 1645-6.

Sir,

I shall only add this word to what was said in my last, that you hasten my business all that you possibly can, the occasion lately given being fairer than ever, and done on purpose. Be very confident that all things shall be performed according to my promise. By all that is good, I conjure you to despatch that courtesy for me with all speed, or it will be too late; I shall perish before I receive the fruits of it. I may not tell you my necessities; but, if it were necessary so to do, I am sure you would lay all other considerations aside and fulfil my desires. This is all; trust me, I will repay the favour to the full I have done. If I have not an answer within four days after the receipt of this, I shall be necessitated to find some other expedient. God direct you! I have discharged my duty.

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[1] MSS. in Bodleian Library. This Vane was son of Sir Henry Vane of Raby Castle, county Durham, one of the Privy Council in the reign of James I. He was brought to trial after the Restoration, and beheaded on Tower Hill. See a letter further on in this series.

Charles I. to Sir Henry Vane, the younger.[1]

Sir,

You cannot suppose the work is done, though I should suffer you to destroy the king. The miseries which will inevitably follow are so plain in view, that it is more than necessary some expedient be found for their prevention. Is it not clear to you (to me it is) that Spain and France will instantly conclude a peace? and that France makes great preparations to join with the Scots, (when the breach between you and them shall happen) whilst Spain labours to be protector of Ireland, and will undoubtedly carry it? Consider well, whether the season is not proper for this design, when the wealth of the nation is already exhausted, and the sufferings of the people so great, that they are no longer to be supported. This is reason; 'tis not to cast a bone among you. The only remedy is (and it is a safe and honourable one for you) that you set yourself, the gentleman that was quartered with you, and all his and your friends, to prevail that the king may come to London upon the terms he hath offered: where, if Presbytery shall be so strongly insisted upon, as that there can be no peace without it, you shall certainly have all the power my master can make, to join with you in rooting out of this kingdom that tyrannical government; with

[1] Clarendon State Papers, Bodleian MSS. It seems clear from the next letter that Vane must have listened in some measure to Charles's proposal. The "gentleman that was quartered with you" was probably Peters, according to Dr. Lingard, vol. x., p. 178.

this condition, that my master may not have his conscience disturbed (yours being free) when the work is finished. Lose not this fair opportunity; the like was never offered, nor ever will be; for it brings all things of benefit and advantage imaginable, both to the general, to your particular, to him that was quartered with you, and to his and your friends, and shall be honestly made good. Trust to me for the performance of it, weigh it sadly, and again rely upon me.

Be confident that neither he that carries this, nor he that delivers it to you, knows anything of it.

This is a true copy of what was sent to Sir Henry Vane, the younger, by my command. C. R.

March 2, 1645-6.

Charles I. to his son the Prince.[1]

Oxford, 22nd March.

Charles,

Hoping that this will find you safe with your mother, I think fit to write this short but necessary letter to you. Then know, that your being where you are, safe from the power of the rebels, is, under God, either my greatest security, or my certain ruin. For, your constancy to religion, obedience to me, and to the rules of honour, will make these insolent men begin to

[1] Clarendon MSS. in the Bodleian Library. The firm attachment of Charles to the established church is deserving of all praise even from those who conscientiously differ from our creed. The queen shortly afterwards attempted to persuade him to abandon it, in the hopes of procuring peace.

hearken to reason, when they shall see their injustice not like to be crowned with quiet. But, if you depart from those grounds, for which I have all this time fought, then your leaving this kingdom will be (with too much probability) called sufficient proofs for many of the slanders heretofore laid upon me.

Wherefore, once again I command you, upon my blessing, to be constant to your religion, neither hearkening to Roman superstitions, nor the seditious and schismatical doctrines of the Presbyterians and Independents. For I know that a persecuted Church is not thereby less pure, though less fortunate. For all other things, I command you to be totally directed by your mother; and, as subordinate to her, by the remainder of that council which I put to you at your parting from hence. And so, God bless you!

CHARLES R.

Charles I. to the Lord Digby.[1]

Since my last to you by Colonel Butler, misfortunes have so multiplied upon me, that I have been forced to send this (to say no more) but strange message to London. Yet, whatever becomes of me, I must never forget my friends, wherever they are.

I am endeavouring to get to London, so that the conditions may be such as a gentleman may own, and that the rebels may acknowledge me as king, being not without hope that I shall be able so to draw either the Presbyterians or Independents to side with me, for extir-

[1] Appendix to the Ormond Papers.

pating the one or the other, that I shall be really king again.

Howsoever, I desire you to assure all my friends that, if I cannot live as a king, I shall die like a gentleman, without doing that which may make honest men blush for me.

Oxford, 26th March, 1646.

Charles I. to Sir Henry Willoughby.[1]

Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well. Whereas we have been heretofore advertised by our well-beloved servant, Sir Thomas Aston, Baronet, of the great stay and comfort you have been to him, during his employment in our service, in your fatherly care of his wife and children, which as we have heretofore looked upon as a good service to us; so, it pleasing God that we have not yet had the opportunity to express our sense of his service than our gracious acceptation thereof, and that he being therein divested both of estate and liberty, whereby they fall under so much the greater need of your continued goodness to them; we are thereby excited not only to let you know that we look upon what is past as a very good testimony of your zeal to us; but out of our affection to him particularly to recommend them to your fatherly care, not as doubting that you will withhold that paternal proportion in disposing your estate towards

[1] MS. Sloane, 856, art. 83. Sir Henry Willoughby, of Risley, county Derby, was created a baronet by James I. on June 29th, 1611. He died in 1649, leaving Anne, his sole daughter and heiress, who married Sir Thomas Aston of Aston, the baronet here alluded to.

them, being your own issue, as may be consonant both in justice and wisdom to the natural affection and duty of a father; but that he may not have that dejection added to his further suffering in our service, to find or fear that his constancy therein should bring prejudice to his posterity in their birthright, or, upon the casualty of your life, be left destitute of support, if your change shall happen before it. Please God to enable us to reduce things to a better condition than at present, for such as suffer for us. And have, therefore, thought good to assure you that, as we might justly interpret it a want of zeal to us, if you should be deficient in a provident care of their future provision as well as present support, as looking like a disherison for his loyalty to us, so we shall have an especial eye to what you shall do herein, and receive the discharge of your fatherly duty towards them as the greatest expression of your loyal affections to us and the justice of our cause, as not being moved from the course suitable to your wisdom and piety by the unhappy [1] distractions of our present troubles. We bid you heartily farewell.

Given at our court at Oxford, the 29th March, the year of our reign 1646.

Charles I. to the Marquis of Ormond.[2]

Oxford, April 3rd, 1646.

Right trusty, &c., we having used all possible and honourable means, by sending many gracious messages

[1] *Your happy* in the original MS.

[2] From the "Life and Raigne of King Charles from his Cradle to his Grave, by Wm. Sanderson, Esq., a very scarce and invaluable work.

to the two houses of parliament, wherein we have offered them all they have heretofore desired, and desire from them nothing but what they themselves (since these unhappy wars) have offered to procure, our personal treaty with them, for a safe and well-grounded peace; and having, instead of a dutiful and peaceable return to our said messages, received either no answer at all, or such as argues nothing will satisfy them but the ruin, not only of us, our posterity, and friends, but even of monarchy itself; and having lately received very good security, that we, and all that do, or shall, adhere to us, shall be safe in our persons, honours, and consciences in the Scottish army, and that they shall really and effectually join with us, and with such as will come in unto us and join with them for our preservation, and shall employ their armies and forces to assist us to the procuring of a happy and well-grounded peace, for the good of us and our kingdoms, in the recovery of our just rights, we have resolved to put ourselves to the hazard of passing into the Scots army now lying before Newark.[1] And if it shall please God that we come safe thither, we are resolved to use our best endeavour with their assistance, and with the forces under the Marquis of Montrose, and such of our well-affected subjects of England as shall rise for us, to procure, it may be, an honourable and speedy peace with those who hitherto refused to give ear to any means tending thereunto: of which our resolution we

[1] In conformity with this determination, Charles secretly quitted Oxford, in disguise, in company with two stanch adherents, Mr. Hudson, a clergyman, and Mr. John Ashburnham, and proceeded to join the Scottish army then encamped before Newark.

held it necessary to give you this advertisement, as well to satisfy you and all our council and loyal subjects with you (to whom we will that you communicate these our letters). Yet failing in our earnest and sincere endeavours by treaty to put an end to the miseries of these kingdoms, we esteemed ourself obliged to leave no probable expedient unattempted to preserve our crown and friends from the usurpation and tyranny of those whose actions declare so manifestly their designs to overthrow those laws and happy established government of this kingdom. And now we have made known to you our resolution, we recommend to your especial care the disposing and managing of our affairs on that side, as that you shall conceive most for our honour and service, being confident that the course we have taken (though with some hazard of our person) will have a good influence on that our kingdom, and defer (if not altogether prevent) the rebels transporting of forces from them into that kingdom. And we desire you to satisfy all our well-affected subjects on that side of our princely care of them, whereof they shall receive the effect as soon as God shall enable us. We desire you to use some means to let us and our council at Oxford hear frequently from you, and of your actions and condition there. And so God prosper your loyal endeavours.

Charles I. to the Queen.[1]

Dear heart,

Since mine of the 13th to thee, not having heard anything from Montreuil, I find myself like to be drawn

[1] Earl of Clarendon's State Papers. Bodley MSS. The Prince of Wales, when the affairs of Charles became almost irretrievable, was

into very great straits; and being absolutely resolved, God willing, never to fall into the rebels' hands as long as I can by any industry or danger prevent it, I have also resolved to expose myself to all the difficulties and hazards that can occur to my deliverance; and, not to flatter myself in this purpose, whether I be obliged to go to the Scotch, or what other course soever I shall be forced to take they will be great enough to invite me to think of those things which will be of essential necessity, in case I do not save myself. One which, though not only necessary in that case, is the having my son with me in France. I do therefore charge thee, as soon as thou shalt receive this, if then he shall not be with thee, (which I would not willingly doubt) that thou send mine and thine own positive commands to him to come unto thee. And this I write to thee now without any scruple; for that in every event that my present purpose can possibly produce, this counsel is not to be disputed. For, whether I save myself, or be taken prisoner, my son can be no where so well, for all the reasons I have to look upon in consideration of thee, myself, and him, as that he should be now with thee in France. Therefore, again I recommend to thee that, if he be not with thee, thou send immediately for him; assuring thee, that most certainly, if God let me live, I will either privately or by force attempt very suddenly to get from hence. I have not now time to tell thee the rest of the particulars I have in my thoughts, in case I hear from Montreuil that things are

withdrawn to Scilly, and afterwards to Jersey. He did not join his mother till the month of September.

prepared for my reception in the Scotch, or that I be forced to take any other course; but shall send thee an express to inform thee at large. So I conjure thee to pray for him who is entirely thine,

CHARLES R.

Oxford, Tuesday, April 15th, 1646.

I do again recommend to thee the hastening of the ambassador I proposed in my last of the 13th. His being at London is like my son's being with thee, fit in all events of my affairs.

Charles I. to the Marquis of Montrose.[1]

Montrose,

Having upon the engagement of the French king and Queen Regent made an agreement to join with my Scots' subjects now before Newark; and being resolved upon the first opportunity to put myself into that army, they being reciprocally engaged (by the intervention of Monsieur Montreuil, the said king's resident now in the said army) to join with me and my forces, and to assist me in the procuring a happy peace, I have thought it necessary to acquaint you herewith, (being here so close begirt, as without much hazard and difficulty I cannot suddenly break from hence to come to them) desiring you, if you shall find by the said de Montreuil that my Scots' army have really declared for me, and that you

[1] Clarendon MSS. in Bodleian Library. The failure of the proposed arrangements with the Scots is too well known as a matter of history to require recital. The two bodies of commissioners appointed to treat on the subject met at Royston on the day this letter was written.

be satisfied by him that there is by them an annestia of all that hath been done by you, and those who have adhered unto me, but very hearty, sincere, friendly, and honourable resolutions in them for whatsoever concerns your person and party; that then you take them by the hand, and use all possible diligence to unite your forces with theirs for the advancement of my service, as if I was there in person; and I doubt not but you, being joined, will be able to relieve me here, in case I shall not find any possible means to come to you, which shall be endeavoured with all earnestness by

Yours,

18th April, 1646. CH. R.[1].

Charles I. to Sir Edward Nicholas.[2]

Newcastle, 15th May, 1646.

Nicholas,

Since my last, I had neither sufficient time nor matter to write to you; but now I have enough of either, yet I shall, to ease both our pains, contract my thoughts merely to what is (for the present) necessary for you at Oxford. For directions then, know that you are not to

[1] He thus writes to Montreuil before he had received the intelligence of the result of the conference at Royston — "I have thus long attended with impatience to hear from you, which I wholly impute to the difficulty of passage, or some unexpected impediment which you have found in the Scots' army. However, I cannot but let you know that I remain in the same resolution you left me withal, and am still ready at an hour's warning to undertake the journey, desiring nothing more at this time than to be personally in the Scots' army."

[2] Evelyn Correspondence. It appears from an endorsement that this letter was read to all the nobility and gentry then at Oxford.

expect relief, so that I give you leave to treat for good conditions. Let those of Exeter be your example; the additions must be the taking care particularly of the University, and to try if you can get the duke of York to be sent hither to me, as also all my servants, who will be willing to come, (of which number I am sure you are one), but fear you will not get leave, and those goods which I have there.

These directions I would have you keep very secret, that you may make better conditions; for the number and choice I leave to the Lord's discretions, the governor being one; but you must give out that relief will come. Jack Ashburnham is this day gone for France.

I have no more to say; so I rest

Your most assured friend,

CHARLES R.

Charles I. to his son the Prince.[1]

Newcastle, 2nd June, 1646.

Charles,

This is rather to tell you where I am, and that I am well, than to direct you anything, having written fully to your mother what I would have you do, whom I command you to obey in everything, (except in religion, concerning which I am confident she will not trouble you) and see that you go no whither without her or my particular directions. Let me hear often from me. So, God bless you. Your loving father,

CHARLES R.

If Jack Ashburnham come where you are, command

[1] MS. Addit., 11252, f. 1.

him to wait upon you, as he was wont, until I shall send for him, if your mother and you be together; if not, he must wait on her.

Charles I. to the Marquis of Antrim.[1]

Antrim,

Upon a rumour of your being landed in Scotland, I wrote to you upon Monday last. But now, having more perfect intelligence thereof, I have thought fit to send you this honest, trusty bearer, Sir James Lesley, to show you what direction I have given to Montrose, commanding you to follow the same: which is, to lay down arms; assuring you that your obedience in this is absolutely necessary for my service. For I shall esteem it as much as I have done your readiness to take them up, which I shall always remember to your advantage. Nor have I been unmindful to secure those honest, gallant men, who have ventured themselves for me, not meaning that any should be ruined for their obedience to me, as this bearer will at large declare unto you; as also, how these my commands are best for you (all things considered) and those who are with you, as well as me, whom you shall always find to be

Your most assured, constant, real friend,

CHARLES R.

Newcastle, 19th June, 1636.

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[1] Clarendon State Papers, Bodley MSS.

Charles I. to the Lords Jermyn and Culpeper, and Mr. John Ashburnham.[1]

Newcastle, Wednesday, 22nd July, [1646.]

Sirs,

Since you three, 385, 386, and 383,[2] have joined yourselves in a letter to me, I will not sever you in my answer. Then know, what severally, what jointly, I received upon Saturday last, six letters from you (and four from the queen), whereof I shall only answer to that of the 19th July, which will serve for all, as to public business.

It is no small comfort for me to find that I have some friends yet, that neither have forsaken me, nor are doubtful of me; for of late I have found many demases, and I cannot but say, that if opportunity could have ruined my constancy, I had not at this time deserved your confidence. Indeed, it is almost incredible (it had been altogether to me, if I had not seen it) with what impudence I have been assaulted to yield unto these London propositions, no man dissenting. In a word, what Ashburnham saw concerning the Covenant was but slight insinuations to what I have found since (incivilities only excepted, which, to say the truth, are left off); for now I am faced down, that this is all for my service; and, if I will be ruled by them, I cannot miss to be a great and glorious king, it being upon debate the result of all my faithful

[1] Clarendon State Papers. Bodley MSS.

[2] These are the ciphers for the names of the three noblemen to whom this letter is addressed.

servants in London. I only mention this, to show you that it is likely I shall still deserve your confidence.

But now let me warn you all (I include my wife and son) truly to deserve that praise of constancy which you command in me. For I am deceived if you be not homer put to it than yet I have been. Wherefore I conjure you, by your unspotted faithfulness, by all that you love, by all that is good, that no threatenings, no apprehensions of danger to my person, make you stir one jot from any foundation in relation to that authority which the prince of Wales is born to. I have already cast up what I am like to suffer, which I shall meet (by the grace of God) with that constancy that befits me. Only I desire that consolation, that assurance from you, as I may justly hope that my cause shall not end with my misfortunes, by assuring me that misplaced pity to me do not prejudice my son's right. And, mistake me not, for I am in this so far from abandoning myself, that I believe this resolution is the best way for my preservation; however, that no man's person ought to be put in balance with this cause.

Now, as for your advice to me, you speak my very soul in everything but one; that is, the church. Remember your own rule, not to expect to redeem that which is given away by Act of Parliament. Shall I then give away the church? And excuse me to tell you that I believe you do not understand what this is that you are content (I confess not upon very easy terms) I should give away. I will begin to show you, first, what it is in point of policy; and first, negatively. It is not the change of church government which is chiefly aimed

at (though that were too much); but it is by that pretext to take away the dependancy of the church from the crown, which, let me tell you, I hold to be of equal consequence to that of the militia; for people are governed by the pulpit more than the sword in times of peace. Nor will the Scots be content with the alteration of government, except the Covenant be likewise established, the which does not only make good all their former rebellions, but likewise lays a firm and fruitful foundation for such pastimes in all times to come. Now, for the theological part: I assure you the change would be no less and worse than if Popery were brought in; for we should have neither lawful priests nor sacraments duly administered, nor God publicly served, but according to the foolish fancy of every idle person; but we should have the doctrine against kings fiercer set up than amongst the Jesuits.

In a word, set your hearts at rest; I will less yield to this than the militia, my conscience being irreconcilably engaged against it. Wherefore, I conjure you as Christians to assist me particularly in this also. Yet I say not the Scots are to be shaken off; but to be sought with all possible industry *usque ad aras;* nor do I mislike your fancy concerning the prince of Wales treating with the independents, wherein I give you full liberty (according to your own cautions) to try your fortunes, though I believe it will not hit.

Charles I. to the Lords Jermyn and Culpeper, and Mr. John Ashburnham.[1]

Newcastle, Wednesday, 19th August, 1646.

Yours of the 17th I received upon Monday last, which gave me much contentment, finding that the answer that I have given to the proposition doth concur fully with your judgments. And now you must not take ill, that I preach constancy to you as much as you have done to me. For, as you had reason to do so, because of the company I am in, I believe to have no less, considering how your judgments have been abused by a fallacious treaty concerning church government, which the Scots have thought to make use of as a shoeing-horn to draw on all their ends. For which there is not so infallible way under heaven as the establishing of Presbyterial government, with the extirpation of episcopacy (they scorn the motion to settle the one, except the other be totally abolished); for thereby the doctrine of rebellion is made canonical, their former acts approved, and mine condemned. Besides, how can I keep that innocency which you (with so much reason) oft and earnestly persuade me to preserve, if I should abandon the Church? Believe it, religion is the only firm foundation of all power; that cast loose, or depraved, no government can be stable. For where was there ever obedience where religion did not teach it? But which is most of all,

[1] Clarendon State Papers, Bodley MSS. The king argued with a Presbyterian concerning Episcopacy, and no contemptible talent was displayed on either side. The present letter affords an interesting example of the king's strong opinions on the subject.

how can we expect God's blessing, if we relinquish His church? And I am most confident that religion will much sooner regain the militia than the militia will religion.

Thus in my harsh, brief way (not having time to make large discourses) I do my endeavours to make your judgments concur with mine in this particular, as they do in all the rest. For albeit, I believe that my letters upon this point may have silenced you by way of obedience, yet I am not satisfied unless your reasons be likewise evinced.

Now, as to the proceedings here, I have yet no certainty to send you; but there are two things much discoursed, both naught, first, that the London rebels will seek to satisfy the Scots, which thought no hard work whereby to make them retire their army, and quit their garrisons, before they will declare anything concerning my person. Secondly, their great desire is to make the duke of York king. Albeit, these hitherto are but discourse, yet are they not to be contemned. And you will be deceived if [you] do not expect that the Scots have [not] resolved to destroy the essence of monarchy (that is to say, reduce my power in England to what they have made it in Scotland), from which nothing can divert them but a visible, strong declared party for me, and either the prince of Wales or I on the head of a good army. And do not think that any other eloquence will make the English or Scots rebels hearken to any reason for the business of Ireland alone (which yourselves confess that I must stick to) will hinder all accommodation, until (as I have said) other sort of arguments be used.

Wherefore my opinion is, that you presently begin to press France and all the rest of my friends, both to declare for my restoration, and set some visible course on foot to order it. I will say no more at this time, but only that you will not forget to answer the quere in my last letter concerning myself. So farewell.

Charles I. to the Prince of Wales.[1]

Newcastle, 26th August, 1646.

Charles,

I had not sent you this honest, trusty servant of mine, Doctor Steward, but that the iniquity of these times hath hindered his attendance upon me, the which, since (for the present) I could not help, I thought the best service he could do me was to wait on you. Wherefore I command you not only to admit him in the quality of dean of your chapel, as he is to me, but likewise that you will take his advice, and give very much reverence to his opinion in everything which concerns conscience or Church affairs. Upon which occasion I cannot but give you some short directions in relation to the distractions of these unhappy times.

As I know that you are not now to learn that chiefest particular duty of a king is to maintain the true religion (without which he can never expect to have God's blessing), so I assure you that this duty can never be right performed without the Church is rightly governed, not only in relation to conscience, but likewise for the neces-

[1] Clarendon State Papers, Bodley MSS.

sary subsistence of the Crown. For, take it as an infallible maxim from me, that, as the Church can never flourish without the protection of the Crown, so the dependency of the Church upon the Crown is the chiefest support of regal authority. This is that which is so well understood by the English and Scots rebels, that no concessions will content them without the change of Church government, by which that necessary and ancient relation which the Church hath had to the Crown is taken away. Wherefore, my first direction to you is, to be constant in the maintenance of the episcopacy, not only for the reasons abovesaid, but likewise to hinder the growth of Presbyterian doctrine, which cannot but bring anarchy into any country, wherever it shall come for any time.

Next to religion, the power of the sword is the truest judge and greatest support of sovereignty which is unknown to none (as it may be that of religion is to some). Wherefore, concerning this, I will only say that whosoever will persuade you to part with it, does but in a civil way desire you to be no king; reward and punishment (which are the inseparable effects of regal power) necessarily depending upon it, and without which a king can neither be loved nor feared of his subjects.

I will end this letter with a negative direction, which is, never to abandon the protection of your friends upon any pretence whatsoever.[1]

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[1] A rough draught by himself, and indorsed by him, "To my son Charles, 26 Aug. by Dr. St. 1646."

Charles I. to the Lords Jermyn and Culpeper, and Mr. John Ashburnham.[1]

Newcastle, 21st September, 1646.

I have now deciphered (which when I wrote last I had not) and considered of the draught ye sent me for an answer to the London propositions, which I find (to my inexpressible grief and astonishment) to be not only directly against my conscience, but absolutely destructive to your ends, which is the maintenance of monarchy. For you have taken such care for the perpetual establishing of Presbyterial government, that you have not forgotten the universities; and ye have (as I believe purposely) omitted other things better worthy the remembering, as the naming of officers. It [is] true ye pretend to give an honourable mention of episcopal government, but so meanly, and in a way so sure not to do that effect which it faintly offers, that it is a shame to see it. And then for Ireland (though I concur with you fully in the intention), it is a poor juggling answer, and such a one that the silliest understanding must at first sight easily look through. Indeed, for the rest, I confess it smells much of the old strain; and I perceive you imagine that the dexterity of the latter part will cure the inconvenient concessions in the former, which is a great mistake. For albeit all were agreed unto as is set down, it will be in the power of pulpits (without transgressing the law) to dethrone me at their pleasures, at least to keep me in subjection. But, suppose they

[1] Clarendon State Papers, Bodley MSS.

thank me for my concessions, and demur upon the rest, what then? You will say all is but conditional, so that I am obliged to do nothing. I grant this were a good answer, if I had a power to dispute, and that the conditions were not against my conscience. But as it is, besides the hazarding of my soul for nothing, what I have yielded unto will be held for good; and I may expect the rest, when all the Lower House turn saints, or mankind leave factions.

Now you may wonder why I have taken all this pains, for you will find that I shall not be put to a particular answer to the propositions; but this point of religion hath so great and necessary an influence throughout all my affairs, that I find it most necessary to rectify your judgments herein; for, albeit my condition be sufficiently sad, yet [it] is made so strangely worse by your misunderstanding the point of church government, whereby I am made the scourge of my kingdom and family, that rather than I will undergo that burden, I will (laying all other considerations aside) hazard to go to France, to clear my reputation to the queen, and all the world, that I stick not upon scruples, but undoubted realities, both in relation to conscience and policy. Indeed, this is a right way to make me a Papist; for if I follow your present advices concerning religion, I foresee such a necessity for it, that the time will come you will persuade me with more earnestness to submit to the pope, than now ye do for my concession to Presbyterial government; for, questionless, it is less ill, in many respects, to submit to one than many popes.

I think Dr. Steward will be with you before this letter; wherefore, and I do again jointly and severally recommend him unto you, commanding you to hear and advise with him in this point of religion.[1]

Charles I. to the Duke of Hamilton.[2]

Hamilton,

I have so much to write, and so little time for it, that this letter will be suitable to the times, without method or reason; and yet you will find lusty truths in it, which puts me again out of fashion, but the fitter for him to whom I write. Now to my business; but, lest I should now forget it, I must first tell you that those at London think to get me into their hands, by telling our countrymen that they do not intend to make me a prisoner. Oh no—by no means! but only to give an honourable guard, forsooth, to attend me continually for the security of my person! Wherefore I must tell you (and 'tis so far from a secret that I desire every one should know it, only for the way I leave it to you to manage it for my best advantage), that I will not be left in England when this army retires, and these garrisons are rendered, without a visible violent force upon my person, unless clearly, and according to the old way of understanding,

[1] A rough draught of himself, endorsed by him, "To L. Jer., L. Cul., and J. A., 21st September, 1646, by London; and ensure upon their draught of an answer to the propositions."

[2] MS. Harl., 841, f. 215. This friendly communication was written with a view to dissuade Hamilton from leaving the kingdom. Charles soon regretted having given him leave to retire.

I may remain a free man, and that no attendant be forced upon me upon any pretence whatsoever. So much for that!

A discourse yesternight with Rob. Murray was the cause of this letter, having no such intention before, because I esteemed you a man no more of this part of the world, believing your resolutions to be like the laws of the Medes and Persians. But, however, he showed me such reasons, that I found it fit to do what I am doing (for I confess one man's error is no just excuse for another's omission); which is, to stay your foreign journey by persuasion. As for the arguments, I refer you to Robin, only I will undertake to tell you some positive truths, the chief whereof is, that it is not fit for you to go; then, it is less shame to recant, than to persist in an error. My last is, by going you take away from me the means of showing myself

Your most assured, real, faithful, constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Newcastle, September 26, 1646.

Charles I. to the Bishop of London.[1]

Newcastle, September 30, 1646.

My lord,

My knowledge of your worth and learning, and particularly in resolving cases of conscience, makes me at

[1] Lambeth Palace MSS., 679, f. 183. It was about this time that Cromwell instituted a "grand committee for accommodation," the professed object of which was to make some arrangement of an amicable and conceding character between the two great religious parties.

this time (I confess) put you to a hard and bold task, nor would I do it, but that I am confident you know not what fear is in a good cause. Yet I hope you believe I shall be loth to press you to a needless danger, assuring you that I will yield to none of your seculars in my care of your preservation. I need not tell you the many persuasions and threatenings that have been used to me, for making me change episcopal into Presbyterial government; which, absolutely to do, is so directly against my conscience, that (by the grace of God) no misery shall ever make me.

But I hold myself obliged, by all honest means, to eschew the mischief of this too visible storm; and I think some kind of compliance to the iniquity of the times may be fit, as my case is, which at another time were unlawful. These are the grounds which have made me think of this enclosed proposition, the which as, one way, it looks handsome to me; so, in another, I am fearful lest I cannot make it with a safe conscience, of which I command you to give me your opinion upon your allegiance, conjuring you that you will deal plainly and freely with me, as you will answer it at the dreadful day of judgment.

I conceive the question to be, whether I may with a safe conscience give way to this proposed temporary compliance, with a resolution to recover and maintain that doctrine and discipline wherein I have been bred. The duty of my oath is herein to be chiefly considered, I flattering myself that in this way I better comply with it, than being constant to a flat denial, considering how

unable I am by force to obtain that which, this way, there wants not a probability to recover, if accepted, otherwise there is no harm done. For my regal authority once settled, I make no question of recovering episcopal government; and God is my witness, my chief end in regaining my power is to do the church service.

So expecting your reasons to strengthen your opinion, whatsoever it be, I rest

Your most assured, and faithful,
constant friend,
CHARLES R.

I desire your opinion in the particulars, as well as in the general of my proposition; for it is very possible you may like the scope of it, and yet mend much in the penning of it. I give you leave to take the assistance of the bishop of Salisbury and doctor Sheldon, or either of them, and let me have your answer with all convenient speed. None knows of this but Will. Murray, who promises exact secrecy. If your opinions and reasons shall confirm me in making of this proposition, then you, some way, may be seen in it; otherwise, I promise you that your opinion shall be concealed.[1]

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[1] The king's proposition for settling religion, enclosed in his above letter:—"Whatsoever was the necessity for reformation in religion, at the beginning of this parliament, no man will now make the least question of it. And I believe it is little less evident, that the present distractions are so great, and of such a nature, as it is much out of the power of any human fiat to settle them; there being no way, in my opinion, to restore that happy tranquillity which the Church of England hath lately and miserably lost, but by a solemn, free, and serious debate by a well-chosen number of divines of each opinion; for certainly persecution never was nor will be found a good way for conversion. These

Charles I. to his Queen.[1]

Newcastle, Friday, 16th October, 1646.

Dear heart,

As I know thou canst not doubt of my perfect, real, and unchangeable love to thee, and that there is no earthly thing I study more (indeed none so much) than thy contentment (for it must always return to me with interest); so it would intolerably add to my afflictions, if thou should not be satisfied with that account which Davenant, and these inclosed copies, will give thee. Nor I cannot doubt but thou will, when thou considers, that if I should forsake my own conscience I cannot be true to or worthy of thee. Nor should I forgive myself, if, by a misinformed or straitlaced conscience, I should prejudice thy just ends. Wherefore I assure thee, that the absolute establishing of Presbyterial go-

considerations have made me form a proposition, which I believe no man but myself hath thought on: it is, that concerning matters of religion, I will be content that all things remain for three years *in statu quo nunc*, so as I and my household be not hindered from using that form of God's service which we have always done. And that in the mean time a committee be chosen of both Houses—the fewer the better—to consult and debate with sixty well-chosen divines; that is to say, twenty of my naming, as many of the Presbyterians, and as many of the Independents, how the church shall be settled and governed at the end of three years, or sooner, if parties, or differences, may be sooner agreed. I do not mean that these committees shall have any other power than of hearing, debating, and reporting; for I always understand that the determination be left to me, with the two Houses. Now, if this be accepted, I expect that this should rather facilitate than retard the settling of civil matters: giving you power to make use of these, as you shall judge best for that reasonable end, which all good men desire."

[1] Clarendon State Papers, Bodley MSS.

vernment[1] would make me but a titulary king; and that this is so, both the Wills, Davenant, and Murray, concede; but then, they say, that a present absolute concession is the only way to reduce the government, as I would have it. But I hope that this argument will not be judged sufficient by Lords Jermyn and Culpeper, for they confess that a flower of the crown, once given away by act of parliament, is not reducible; and if the supremacy in church affairs be not, I know not what is. For thou must understand, that (which I find clearly mistaken by all you in France) the difference between the two governments (episcopal and Presbyterian) is one of the least differences now among us, even in points of religion. For under the pretence of a thorough reformation (as they call it), they intend to take away all the power of the ecclesiastical government from the crown, and place it in the hands of the two Houses of Parliament. Besides, they will introduce that doctrine which teaches rebellion to be lawful, and that the supreme power is in the people, to whom kings (as they say) ought to give an account, and be corrected if they do amiss.

This, I am confident, will satisfy thee I have reason (besides that great argument of conscience) to endure all extremities, rather than to suffer by my consent to the absolute establishing of that government, which brings along

[1] "Remember that (upon any terms) I will not abjure episcopacy, take or establish the covenant, nor consent to that undoubted sacrilege of alienating the church lands. Communicate all these things freely with the duke of Richmond; with others as you shall see cause."—*Clarendon Papers*, vol. ii., p. 275.

with it such great, ruinous mischiefs. And, certainly, if the Scots will be content with anything less than the destruction of the essentials of monarchy, I have done that which must content them, and make them declare for me, in case my offers should be rejected at London, which I expect. Thus I hope (whatsoever becomes of me) to have this comfort, that I shall not in any kind be lessened in thy opinion, which is the only thing that can make him truly miserable

Who is eternally

THINE.

I assure thee, that I was so far from pressing Will. Murray to undertake this employment, as I told him plainly, that I wished him not to go, except he thought he might do some service therein.[1]

Charles I. to the Lords Jermyn and Culpeper and Mr. John Ashburnham.[2]

Newcastle, 27th October, 1646.

In what I have offered by Will Murray's journey to London do not make the Scots declare for me, in case my offers be rejected at London (as I believe they will) the devil owes them a shame; and you may see, if you be not blind, that they will rather hazard their own

[1] A rough draught by himself, endorsed by him, "To my wife, 17th October, by Davenant and London. To be kept."

[2] Clarendon State Papers. Bodley MSS. Great Britain at this time presented the singular appearance of two nations quarrelling about a sovereign, whom both had virtually rejected. We here find Charles projecting his customary sanguine and visionary opinions.

ruin than help me, except I do that which will be sure to make me and my successors titulary kings. And I believe they are flattering themselves that their union with England will secure them, though I and the monarchy be ruined, hardens their obstinacy against me. And this makes me offer an opinion to you, which at first I suppose you will think a paradox. It is, that my remaining in these kingdoms, though I be not a direct prisoner, is the only means, in my mind, to secure the Scots, and settle a new government here, without a breach between the two nations. For so long as I remain as I am, though in Scotland, I (being but a cipher as to power) shall be no impediment to the change of government. And yet the English will not dare to break with the Scots, lest they, setting me up to claim my right, should raise a great party for me in England; whereas, if I were in a secure freedom anywhere else, I believe the two nations must needs fall out, and so give me an opportunity, either to join with the weaker party, or frame one of my own; for then men will begin to perceive that, without my establishing, there can be no peace. Now, how strange soever this fancy of mine may seem at first to you, I earnestly desire of you to consider of it well; for I have discoursed with M. de Bellievre, who confesses that, if my condition should happen to be as I have stated it, he knows not what to object against me. And, seriously, if I did not suspect that the just distaste I have to the Scots (especially wanting the liberty of my conscience) does make me partial to any opinion which is in order to the quitting

of their company, I would take my oath that I never was of righter judgment all my life. Wherefore again, I desire you to consider well of it; and if you find reason in what I say, that you will think to prepare things accordingly.

Charles I. to his Queen.[1]

Newcastle, 21 November, [1646.]

Dear heart,

Albeit that, in writing to thee, preambles as to the ordinary use of procuring favourable attention are not needful; yet, before I answer to thy two last letters, I assure thee that I clearly see it is thy affection to me which makes thee press me to do that which is so unpleasant to me. Wherefore be confident that no man can study anything more than I have and shall always do to give thee all contentment. For if my judgment were as perfect as my love to thee, I might with reason pretend infallibility; howsoever, I hope my errors in the former will be excused by the latter.

And yet I must tell thee, that I am confident it is only misinformation or mistakings which cause in most things our differing in opinion. For am I not mistaken when thou apprehends that I have a small estimation of the militia? Must my heightening the cause of religion be the the abasing[2] of the other! No, sweetheart! for

[1] Clarendon State Papers. Bodley MSS. The earnestness of Charles in this private letter speaks well for his sincerity. Many have attributed his firm adherence to his religious faith to mere obstinacy. No impartial reader can peruse this without being convinced of the contrary.

[2] Lowering; debasing.

I will defy the cunningest sophister to prove by any of my letters that I ever showed the least inclination in yielding anything concerning the militia more than thou would have me. Indeed, I am still of opinion that, except religion be preserved, the militia will not be much useful to the crown. Nay, without that, this would be but a shadow; for though it be most true that the transferring of the right of the militia unto the two houses dethrones the king, yet the retaining of it is not of so much consequence (I am far from saying none) as is thought, without the concurrence of other things; because the militia here is not, as in France and in other countries, a formed powerful strength; but it serves more to hold off ill than to do much good. And certainly if the pulpits teach not obedience, which will never be, if Presbyterian government be absolutely settled, the crown will have little comfort of the militia. But my resolution is fixed never to part with the least tittle of right to the militia, or to admit of any copartners with me in it.

Next, I am much mistaken about my three years' concession of Presbyterial government. For neither was it extorted from me by importunity, or finding the discovery of a new necessity; nor have I thereby any whit abandoned the great and not-to-be-forsaken argument of my conscience. For, upon my faith to thee, my earnest desire of giving thee satisfaction was the chief (I may say only) cause that made me find out this way; to show thee, and as I thought demonstratively, that the Scots will not join with me but upon such con-

ditions as are destructive to monarchy; for if it were not for adhering to the covenant, this could not but content them. Then, for my disclaiming the argument of my conscience for this offer, it is so strange a construction that it is made by none that I can hear of, whether at London, Edinburgh, or this place; but by the contrary, my constancy to religion is, by this, the more believed, by every body; and I never heard that any right was given over, so long as the claim was kept afoot; which certainly in this case is clearly done by the debate of divines (whereof twenty are of my chusing) how the church shall be governed; the determination thereof being kept free to me and the two houses. So that if my conscience be injured, I can lay the blame on nothing but on my want of courage.

Now, as for those things in which thou and I do fully concur in judgment, as not abandoning my friends, nor taking the covenant, &c., the naming them, I hope, is enough to assure thee of my constancy; seeing thou art only afraid that I may be cousened in them, as I was concerning the perpetual parliament. Indeed, with grief I must acknowledge the instance; nor can I promise not to do the like again, when I shall, as I then did, to suffer myself to sin against my conscience. For the truth is, I was surprised with it instantly after I made that base, unworthy concession concerning Strafford; for which, and likewise for that great wrong and injustice to the church, of taking away the bishop's votes in parliament, I have been most justly punished. Yet I hope that God will so accept of my hearty, how-

ever weak, repentance, and my constant adhering to my conscience, that at last his mercy will take place of his justice. But a new relapse (such as abjuration of episcopacy, on my engagement, without reserve, for the perpetual establishing of Presbyterial government) will both procure God's wrath upon me, as also make me inconstant in all my other grounds, such a negligent despair must in such a case possess my spirit.

Wherefore, dear heart, albeit thou may be sorry for my persuasion, yet I know that what I have said will make thee desire me rather to be constant than change my resolution. And the rather because thou wilt find that what thou desires me to do will not produce the expected effects. For if I can judge of anything, the Scots will not engage for me, except I promise to establish the covenant (and in this opinion the ambassador and Montreuil fully concur with me) to which, I believe, thou wilt not persuade me. This is the ground which hath made me (as thou hast rightly observed) draw my answer rather conducing to a peace than to please the Scots; who, I am confident, will not assist me but upon conditions destructive to regal authority. So that under favour I think not to have swerved from my first foundations, the contenting of the Scots being only in relation to their assisting me.

All this I have set down rather to clear my conscience to thee, than out of any hope of drawing thee to my opinion, or freeing myself, in thy judgment, from the heavy censure of destroying by my wilfulness all that is dear unto me. Upon which consideration, I have

pressed the ambassador to go to the Scots parliament, in pursuance of that way which thou hast laid down to me; but indeed upon condition, that I should have nothing to do with the performance of any capitulation he was to make, more than to give the Prince of Wales full power to exercise my authority. This he hath absolutely refused, as not having power to engage for anybody but myself; besides, that it is against his judgment that I should upon any terms put off my authority, though it were but for a time. Now upon this, my very earnest desire to thee is, either to procure the ambassador a command to accept this my offer, or else that thou wilt heartily join in my way without further dispute. And, really, I shall be glad for the trying thy own way according to my offer; because I am most confident that within very short time I shall be recalled with much honour, and all my friends will see that I have neither a foolish or peevish conscience. Whereas, otherwise I shall, I know not how long, lie under (excuse me to say it) an unjust slander.

I cannot end this tedious letter without conjuring thee, by all that is dear unto thee, that thou wilt seriously consider all I have now written unto thee; being confident that, as thou cannot mistrust my affections, so at last thou wilt not much blame the judgment of him who is eternally thine.

I have newly received thine of the 16th of November, but have not yet deciphered it.

Charles I. to his Queen.[1]

Newcastle, 5th December, 1646.

Dear heart,

Thine of the 23rd gave me much comfort to find thy judgment of affairs so right in all fundamentals, not without some wonder that in some particulars thou canst be so mistaken. For whereas thou rightly perceivest that thou art sought to be made use of to my prejudice, it is strange that thou seest not how; which to me is very visible, there being nothing they can work by, in this kind, but only the Presbyterial government. In all other things, they know thee too clear-sighted. See if ever they trouble thee concerning the militia or my friends? I warrant thee, no! But if by thy means they could obtain the Presbyterian government absolutely settled, they would be confident, and with reason, piece and piece, to work all the rest of their ends. So that it is a marvellous thing to me that thou, who so wisely bids me be upon my guard not to lose my grounds, little and little, yet still art persuading me to do that which thou gives me warning to eschew.

Wherefore, I see plainly that it is only misinformations which cause mistakings, that makes us to differ in opinion. For otherwise thou could not call my three years' concession a dispensation against my conscience; when indeed it is but a temporary permission to continue such an unlawful possession, which for the present I cannot help, so as to lay a hopeful ground for a perfect

[1] Clarendon State Papers. Bodley MSS.

recovery of that which, to abandon, were directly against my conscience, and, I am confident, destructive to monarchy.

Now, as for thy negative counsels, I fully approve, and will be constant to them all; being particularly glad that thou so rightly understands the covenant, as to judge it unfit for me to authorize. Yet, let me tell thee that an act of oblivion may reasonably solve the reasons thou gives, but that which makes it never to be yield[ed] to, is, that (albeit all the promissory part of it were not against honest men's consciences, yet) the frame of it is such, as the establishing of it is a perpetual authorizing of rebellion.

I have, as thou desired me, done my part concerning Davenant's proposition for the sending of persons from thee to me, with fit assurances for their safety; for I was fain to interpret his letter, though I could not read it as well as to recommend the business, because the cipher was mistaken.

I will, according to thy conjuration, not think of an escape,[1] until the Scots shall declare that they will not protect me. By which I perceive the opinion is (I say not it is thine) that it is less ill for my affairs that I should be a prisoner within my dominions, than at liberty any where else, for I cannot escape, if I stay till the

[1] "And from these events it may be seen how badly the king was taught by his advisers not at once to flee from the bloody tyrants and usurpers, and retire into France to his lady the Queen, or some foreign state where he would have been safe, at least for a time."—History of Charles I., Rawlinson MSS. This seems to have been written after Charles was beheaded.

Scots declare against me. And indeed it well may be so, in case my friends will, upon my restraint, immediately and frankly declare for my release; of which, I am sure, thou wilt have a care, and therefore will say no more.

I have desired Mr. de Bellievre, which he hath willing[ly] promised, to write at large to the Regent of France and Cardinal Mazarin that such offices may be done, now upon the conclusion of the general peace, as to make all the princes understand that my case is not singly mine, but that it concerns all the monarchs in Christendom to advert unto, and particularly that somewhat may be done which may oblige Spain not to meddle with Ireland, I desiring thee to further these motions to what thou may with the Regent of France[1] and Cardinal Mazarin.

I am so pressed to send my answer to London, that my last shift of delay is, first to send it to my friends in Scotland, to see how far I can engage them; for that I see not how to shun the sending it some time the next week to London, if in the mean time something from thee do not hinder me. For I much desire thy opinion concerning Ireland. And yet I have so couched that article that, if the Irish give me cause, I may interpret it enough to their advantage. For I only say, that I will give them full satisfaction as to the managing of that war; nor do I promise to continue the war, so that I find reason to make a peace there, my engagement is at an end. Wherefore I desire thee to make this my in-

[1] These names are usually written in cipher in the original MS.

terpretation known to the Irish, assuring them what I do now is with no intention to abandon them, nor will so long as there is any reason to do otherwise.

This is all at this time from him who is eternally

THINE.

Charles I. to the Earl of Lanerick.[1]

Lanerick,

I like well of your accustomed freedom, nor shall I alter my style to you; and, indeed, as I am well satisfied of your proceedings, in order to my commands sent by Sir James Hamilton, so I wonder much that my intended answer had so ill a reception amongst you. For, albeit I could not expect that you would approve what I know is so much against your wishes; yet I thought that even common charity (besides, believe me, there is also the interest of the country which would be considered) might make you endeavour to make the best of that which you saw remediless. Yet, since what I sent you is so much mistaken, the rest is the less wonder to me; for it amazes me to hear that some amongst you, who know every little that Will. Murray carried, say that this is far short in diverse particulars, when there is but one (which is the militia) for which there is any colour, and that neither but in a much wrested sense. And is it not so, when private instructions are the only

[1] MS. Harl. 841, f. 227. He added in a postscript—"I have so much work now, that if you had ten brethren, what I have written is enough for them all." A few days after this, the king sent his last message to the two Houses, to be presented to the Scottish Parliament.

ground which only permit a further latitude to be made use of in case of absolute necessity, and not otherwise, it being a new kind of incivility that particular freedoms should be esteemed as public obligations? Yet, if they think they have so great a catch of it, so that Scotland will declare for me, I will stand to the least tittle of these instructions (nothing being omitted), according to their plain grammatical sense. As for the officers of state, certainly my advocate will clear that mistaking; for all the alteration concerning them is only for the better conformity to that paper, which he brought from London. And for the great seal, upon the perusal of all my papers, I have not wit enough to find from whence the ground of going less can be taken. But for religion, I know not what to say, except endeavouring to be civil may be termed a going less; if so, that fault shall be soon helped. And, indeed, I cannot but think it strange, that rather than comply anything with my conscience, you will (I speak not personally to you, but to the kingdom in general) submit to the wills of those who at least can never prove your friends, and that to the visible prejudice (I may say more) both of you and me, though I express my endeavouring to content you by showing you more than a probable way for the attaining to your pretensions, the which you make altogether desperate by rejecting my offer. And truly I am confident not to be single to think your exceptions strange; for, first, civil ingenuity uses not to be misliked; then I rather expected thanks for giving of some time to Presbyterial government than to have the limitation of it objected against me; especially

since that without me it cannot be established. And is it unfit for me to have what is granted to all public ministers by the law of nations? Yes, I cry you mercy; for kings used to dispense, not to be dispensed with. And why will you not have twenty divines of my nomination to speak amongst your grave assembly? Is it that you misdoubt your causes, or that you will not have it disputed? Neither of these reasons I can submit to; and a third I cannot find.

Lastly, as for your covenant, when, and not before, that I shall be satisfied in my conscience that I may allow it, I will; but I see no way for that satisfaction, unless by such a conference as I have proposed. Now, for sad consequences I have no so good antidote as a clear conscience, which, by the grace of God, I will preserve, whatever else happen to

Your most assured, real, constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Newcastle, 14th December, 1646.

Charles I. to his Queen.[1]

Newcastle, Saturday, January 2, [1647.]

Dear heart,

I must tell thee that now I am declared what I have really been ever since I came to this army, which is a prisoner (for the governor told me some four days since, that he was commanded to secure me, lest I should

[1] Clarendon State Papers, Bodley MS. Charles was strictly watched by the parliamentary guards, and no access to him could be obtained without an order from the Parliament.

make an escape), the difference being only this, that heretofore my escape was easy enough, but now it is most difficult, if not impossible. That which now is to be done is, that the queen and prince of Wales declare publicly that my offers have been most reasonable, and neither of you will persuade me to go further, but rather dissuade me, if I had a mind to grant more; because it is now clear that the demands concerning religion are destructive as well to my crown as conscience; assuring thee that somewhat fully to this sense (I say fully, for it must not be minced) is absolutely necessary for my preservation; for if there be the least imagination that the prince of Wales will grant more than I, I shall not live long after. This is not my opinion alone, for the French ambassador and Montreuil fully concur with me in it.

Having, as it is necessary, showed thee this sad truth (which to me is neither new nor strange), I shall need say no more; for I know thy love will omit nothing that is possible for my freedom. Yet I cannot but conjure thee never to despair of a good cause, and to remember that the Prince of Wales justly claims from [thee] a never giving over care of him, even as thou loves me, who am

Eternally thine.

The French ambassador goes from hence Monday next, with my approbation, for he can have nothing more to do here; and I believe he will be useful to me in France, being no less confident of his affection to me, than of his knowledge of these affairs, of which on my word there is no doubt. Wherefore I desire thee to give him all the countenance thou can.

Charles I. to his son James.

James,

I am in hope that you may be permitted, with your brother and sister, to come to some place betwixt this and London, where I may see you.

To this end, therefore, I command you to ask leave of the two Houses to make a journey (if it may be) for a night or two.

But rather than not see you, I will be content that ye come to some convenient place to dine, and go back at night.

And foreseeing the fear of your being brought within the power of the army as I am, may be objected, to hinder this my desire.

I have full assurance from Sir Thomas Fairfax, and the chief officers, that there will be no interruption or impediment made by them for your return how and when you please. So God bless you.

Your loving father,

CHARLES R.

Casam, July 4, 1647.

Send me word as soon as you can of the time and place where I shall have the contentment of seeing you, your brother and sister.

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[1] Sanderson, p. 995. According to Sanderson, the king's wishes were complied with. He dined with the two princes at Maidstone, whence they adjourned with the king to Casam for two days.

Charles I. to the Earl of Lanerick. [1]

Lanerick,

It is impossible for me at present to give a categorical answer to your (I confess) necessary question. All I can say is, that I am now at much more freedom than when I was at Holmby, for my friends have free access unto me, according to their vocation, and I have free intelligence with my wife and any body else whom I please; all which was flatly denied me before. Besides, their professions are much more frank and satisfactory to what I desire of this army than ever was offered me by the Presbyterians. And truly if these people rightly understand their own condition and interests, they must do what they profess, which is, that king, parliament, and people may each have respectively what is their own; and yet it must be their actions, not words alone, which shall make me put confidence in them.

Hitherto they have made me no particular offers, though daily pressed by me; but as soon as I can clearly see through their intentions one way or other, I shall not fail to advertise you with my commands thereupon.[2] In the mean time, having truly though shortly set you down

[1] MS. Harl. 841, f. 238.

[2] "This army speaks me very fair, which makes me hope well; but it must be their actions, not bare words, which will make me trust them. I have declared for my going to Richmond, from which nothing shall, by the grace of God, divert me (if the two Houses do not recede from their votes) but direct force, which, I hope, the army will not offer to do; for, if they mean well, this my journey will be available to them; and whatsoever they intend, forcing of my person will do them more harm than good."—*Letter of Charles I., Addit. MSS.* 5015.

the true estate of my present condition, I leave you to judge and do what you shall find best for my service. So I rest

Your most assured, real, constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Casam, 12th July, 1647.

Postscript.—I have entrusted this trusty bearer with several particulars, which I thought too long for a letter.

Charles I. to the Earl of Lanerick.[1]

Lanerick,

This is, first, to recommend this honest bearer to your care, to further him in passing of those small favours which I have bestowed upon him; next, that you would do your best for the relief of those Gordons who were lately taken: both which as to you were needless, but that I know it fit for me, at all occasions, to express the care I have of those that wish me well. So farewell.

Your most assured, real, constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Casam, 13th July, 1647.

Postscript.—Send me word if you have yet remembered your promise to me concerning the late Archbishop of Saint Andrew's book.

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[1] MS. Harl. 841.

Charles I. to the Earl of Lanerick.[1]

Lanerick,

You had reason not to come up without the chancellor; but I do not understand why you did both stay; for is this a time for Scotland to vie punctilios of honour with England, and thereby neglect even almost to lose the opportunity of redeeming that fault which they committed at Newcastle? Certainly you are not yet in the right way; but seriously I write not this for you, but to you, that others by you may learn more wit—in a word, time is not altogether lost—redeem it for shame, and be not startled at my answer which I gave yesterday to the two Houses; for, if you truly understand it, I have put you in a right way, where before you were wrong. Remember the proverb—*Ill bairns are best heard at home.* I say no more; but make what haste you can with your colleague to

Your most assured, real, constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Hampton Court, 10th September, 1647.

Charles I. to his Daughter.[2]

Hampton Court, 27th October, 1647.

Dear daughter,

This is to assure you that it is not through forgetfulness nor any want of kindness, that I have not,

[1] MS. Harl. 841, f. 243. Lanerick and Lowdon were permitted by the Parliament to wait on the king; but leave was not granted without much discussion and opposition.

[2] Sloane MSS. No. 3299. These letters are addressed to the Princess Elizabeth, who died of a fever at Carisbrook, September, 1650. Her

all this time, sent for you; but for such reasons as is fitter for you to imagine (which you may easily do) than me to write. But now I hope to see you upon Friday or Saturday next, as your brother James can more particularly tell you, to whom referring you, I rest

Your loving father,

CHARLES R.

Charles I. to Colonel Whalley.[1]

Hampton Court, 11th November, 1647.

Colonel Whalley,

I have been so civilly used by you and Major Huntington, that I cannot but by this parting farewell acknowledge it under my hand; as also to

death is thus mentioned in a MS. in the Bodleian Library, containing notes for a history of the Isle of Wight, "it was here also in 1650 that another of this most unhappy family, Elizabeth, daughter of King Charles, terminated her grief and sufferings. I have not met with a notice of her burial in the registers, but it is very possible I have overlooked it." It is, however, entered in the registers there.

[1] Jessie's Hampton Court. This letter was written on the very day of the flight of the unfortunate monarch from Hampton Court, of which Whalley was the governor. It is very interesting, as exhibiting his fondness for pictures, and the facility with which he would stoop to the arrangements of trifles, amidst the dangers and embarrassments which surrounded him at the moment it was written. The following particulars relative to his escape are extracted from the Moderate Intelligencer of Thursday, November 11th, 1647. "Nov. 11. This day will be famous in aftertimes, because towards the end of his majesty's escape, a kind of restraint under which he was at Hampton Court, and according to the best relation, thus: he, as was usual, went to be private a little before evening prayer; staying somewhat longer than usual, it was taken notice of, yet at first without suspicion; but he not coming forth, suddenly there were fears, which increased by the crying of a greyhound again and again within, and upon search it was found the king was gone, and by the way of paradise, a place so called in the garden, in probability suddenly after his going in and about twilight."

desire the continuance of your courtesy, by your protecting of my household stuff and moveables of all sorts, which I leave behind me in this house, that they be neither spoiled or embezzled: only there are three pictures here which are not mine, that I desire you to restore; to wit, my wife's picture in blue, sitting in a chair, you must send to Mistress Kirke; my eldest daughter's picture, copied by Belcam, to the Countess of Anglesey; and my Lady Stanhope's picture to Carry Rawley; there is a fourth which I had almost forgot, it is the original of my eldest daughter (it hangs in this chamber over the board next to the chimney) which you must send to my Lady Aubigny. So, being confident that you wish my preservation and restitution, I rest

Your friend, CHARLES R.

PS.—I assure you it was not the letter you showed me to-day, that made me take this resolution, nor any advertisement of that kind.[1] But I confess that I am loth to be made a close prisoner, under pretence of securing my life. I had almost forgot to desire you to send the black grewbitch to the Duke of Richmond.

Charles I. to the Earl of Lanerick.[2]

Lanerick,

As my coming hither will be variously scanned, so I believe that my message to the two houses will have divers interpretations, for neither of which I

[1] Alluding to a plot to assassinate him. Cromwell wrote to him at this time, but the writer of the letter mentioned by Charles is not known.

[2] MS. Harl. 841, f. 245. Charles sent a message to the parliament on the 16th of November, declaring the reason of his going to the Isle of Wight, and inviting them to a treaty.

mean to make any apology; for honest actions, at last, will best interpret themselves. Only I must observe to you that what I have sent to London, the end of it is to procure a personal treaty; for which, if I have striven to please all interests with all possible equality (without wronging my conscience), I hope no reasonable man will blame me; nor am I so unreasonable as to imagine that this my message can totally content any one party. But for the end of it, a personal treaty, I hope all reasonable men on all sides will concur with me, as I expect your Scots commissioners should do, though I know you must dislike many passages in it. And yet I must tell you, that in substance I have differed very little from my message of the 12th of May. This I thought necessary to write to you, that you might assure your fellow commissioners, that change of place hath not altered my mind from what it was, when you last saw me. So I rest

Your most assured constant friend,

CHARLES R.

PS.—This is a true messenger, wherefore you or any other of my friends may write to me by him, desiring much to hear from you.

Carisbrooke, 19th November, 1647.

Charles I. to the Earl of Lanerick.[1]

Lanerick,

I wonder to hear (if it be true) that some of my friends should say, that my going to Jersey had

[1] Harleian MSS. 841, f. 246. The following entry from the corporation journals of Southampton, of the date of Monday, Jan. 6, 1647,

much more furthered my personal treaty than my coming hither, for which, as I see no colour of reason, so, I had not been here, if I had thought that fancy true, or had not been assured of a personal security, of which I neither do nor I hope shall repent. For I am daily more and more satisfied with this governor; and find these islanders very good, peaceable, and kind people. This encouragement I thought not unfit for you to receive, hoping at least it may do good upon others, though needless to you from your most assured, real, constant friend,

CHARLES R.

Carisbrooke, 23rd November, 1647.

Charles I. to the Earl of Lanerick.[1]

Lanerick,

Albeit that letters can ill dispute at this distance, yet I cannot but tell you, that many things may be fitly offered to obtain a treaty, that may be altered, when one comes to treat; and there is a great difference betwixt what I shall insist upon, and what I will permit, for the obtaining of a peace. Likewise, it is necessary in many respects that I should seek to

when Charles I. had arrived at Carisbrook Castle, affords a very singular instance of municipal "prudence." "Mr. Mayr is desired to write to Mr. Exont to know his opinion for the sending a present of household provision to his majesty at Carisbroke Castle."

[1] MS. Harl. 841, f. 247. Lanerick had sent the king the papers the lords Lowdon, Lauderdale, and himself had written against the bills, and the other late votes. See Memoirs of the Hamiltons, p. 328.

satisfy, as far as I can with conscience and honour, all chief interests. All these things impartially and duly considered, I will boldly say my message will not be found much amiss; which recommending to your better consideration, I must desire you to give hearty thanks in my name to your fellow commissioners (of which though you take a large share to yourself, they will not want) for their paper of the 17th of this month, which was sent to the houses; for seriously it is as full to my sense, as if I had penned it myself. And let me tell you that it will turn to the greatest honour (I say no more) that ever befel you. Wherefore I conjure you, by all that is dear to wise and honest men, that you adhere closely and constantly to it; and as the song says, I ask no more, so I rest

Your most assured, faithful, real friend,

CHARLES R.

Carisbrooke, 29th November, 1647.

Charles I. to Prince Charles.[2]

Tuesday, August 1st, 1648.

Charles,

I had written to you sooner had I known where you had been, particularly that express which, upon Saturday last, I had directed to your brother I had sent to you. I command you to do nothing, whether it concerns war or peace, but with the advice

[1] MS. Harl. 6988, f. 127. Part of the original of this is written in cipher.

of your council, and that you be constant to those grounds of religion and honour, which heretofore I have given you. I suppose your not knowing how to send your letters to me hath been the cause of your not writing since your coming out of Paris; but now, indeed I shall take it unkindly if you do not answer this, and write me divers other letters. God direct and prosper you in all your actions.

Your loving father,

CHARLES R.

This cipher which I now write in is that which was sent you by the noble friend who conveys this letter to you from me.

Charles I. to the Speaker of the House of Lords.[1]

If the peace of my dominions were not much dearer to me than any particular interest whatsoever, I had too much reason to take notice of the several votes which passed against me, and the sad condition I have been in now above these seven months. But, since you my two houses of parliament have opened (as it seems to me) a fair beginning to a happy peace, I shall heartily apply myself thereunto; and to that end I will as clearly, and shortly as I may, set you down those things which I conceive necessary to this blessed work, so that we together may remove all impediments, that may hinder

[1] Lords' Journals. Towards the end of July, the Commons had yielded to the obstinacy of the Lords; the preliminary conditions, on which they had insisted, were abandoned, and the vote of non-addresses was repealed. See Lingard, p. 242.

a happy conclusion of this treaty, which, with all cheerfulness, I do embrace.

And to this wished end, yourselves have laid most excellent grounds; for what can I reasonably expect more than to treat with honour, freedom, and safety, upon such propositions as you have, or shall present unto me, and such as I shall make to you. But withall remember, that it is the definition, not names of things, which make them rightly known; and that without means to perform, no proposition can take effect. And truly my present condition is such that I can no more treat than a blind man judge of colours, or one run a race who hath both his feet fast tied together; wherefore, my first necessary demand is,

That you will recall all such votes and orders, by which people are frighted from coming, writing, or speaking freely to me.

Next, that such men of all professions, whom I shall send for, as of necessary use to me in this treaty, may be admitted to wait upon me. In a word, that I may be in the same state of freedom I was in when I was last at Hampton Court. And, indeed, less cannot in any reasonable measure make good those offers which you have made me by your votes; for how can I treat with honour, so long as people are terrified by votes and orders against coming to speak, or write to me? And am I honourably treated, so long as there is none about me (except a barber, who came now with the commissioners) that ever I named to wait upon me, or with freedom (until I may call such unto me, of whose services

I shall have to use in so great and difficult a work). And for safety (I speak not of my person, having no apprehension that way), how can I judge to make a safe and well-grounded peace, until I may know, without disguise, the true present state of all my dominions, and particularly of all those whose interests are necessarily concerned in the peace of these kingdoms, which leads me naturally to the last necessary demand I shall make for the bringing of this treaty to a happy end; which is,

That you[1] alone, or you and I jointly, do invite the Scots to send some persons authorized by them to treat upon such propositions as they shall make; for certainly the public and necessary interest they have in this great settlement is so clearly plain to all the world, that I believe nobody will deny the necessity of their concurrence in this treaty, in order to a durable peace. Wherefore I will only say, that as I am king of both nations, so I will yield to none in either kingdom for being truly and zealously affected for the good and honour of both: my resolution being never to be partial for either, to the prejudice of the other.

Now as to the place (because I conceive it to be rather a circumstantial than real part of this treaty, I shall not much insist upon it) I name Newport in this isle: yet the fervent zeal I have that a speedy end be put to these unhappy distractions doth force me earnestly to desire you to consider what a great loss of time it will be to treat so far from the body of my two houses, when every single debate (of which doubtless there will be many)

[1] The Museum MS. reads I.

must be transmitted to Westminster before it be concluded. And really I think (though to some it may seem a paradox) that people's minds will be much more apt to settle, seeing me treat in or near London, than in this isle; because, so long as I am here, it will never be believed by many that I am really so free as before this treaty begin I expect to be; and so I leave and recommend this point to your serious consideration. And thus I have not only fully accepted of the treaty, which you have proposed to me by your votes of the third of this month, but also given it all the furtherance that lies in me, by demanding the necessary means for the effectual performance thereof: all which are so necessarily implied by, though not particularly mentioned in your votes, as I can no ways doubt of your ready compliance with me herein. I have now no more to say, but to conjure you, by all that is dear to Christians, honest men, or good patriots, that ye will make all the expedition possible to begin this happy work, by hastening down your commissioners fully authorized and well instructed, and by enabling me (as I have showed you) to treat; praying the God of peace so to bless our endeavours, that all my dominions may speedily enjoy a safe and well-grounded peace.

CHARLES R.[1]

Carisbrook Castle, 10th August, 1648.

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[1] Endorsed in another hand, "Brought by the Earl of Middlesex, Sir John Hippesley, and Mr. Bulkeley."

Charles I. to his Daughter.[1]

Newport, 14th October, 1648.

Dear daughter,

It is not want of affection that makes me write so seldom to you, but want of matter, such as I could wish; and indeed am loth to write to those I love when I am out of humour (as I have been these days by-past), lest my letters should trouble those I desire to please. But having this opportunity, I would not lose it; though at this time I have nothing to say, but God bless you! So I rest

Your loving father,

CHARLES R.

Give your brother my blessing with a kiss, and commend me kindly to my Lady Northumberland, by the same token.

Charles I. to the Prince of Wales.[2]

Newport, November 29, 1648.

Son,

By what hath been said, you may see how long we have laboured in search of peace. Do not you be discouraged to tread those ways, to restore yourself to your right; but prefer the way of peace. Show the greatness of your mind, rather to conquer your enemies by pardoning than punishing. If you saw how unmanly and unchristianly this implacable disposition is in our evil willers, you would avoid that spirit. Censure us not, for having parted with too much of our own right; the

[1] Sloane MS. 3299, art. 85.

[2] Holmes's MS. Historical Collections.

price was great; the commodity was security to us, peace to our people. And we are confident another parliament would remember how useful a king's power is to a people's liberty.

Of how much have we divested ourself, that we and they might meet again in a due parliamentary way to agree the bounds for prince and people! And in this, give belief to our experience, never to affect more greatness or prerogative than what is really and intrinsically for the good of our subjects (not satisfaction of favourites).[1] And, if you thus use it, you will never want means to be a father to all, and a bountiful prince to any you would be extraordinarily gracious to. You may perceive all men trust their treasure, where it returns them interest: and if princes, like the sea, receive and repay all the fresh streams and rivers trust them with, they will not grudge, but pride themselves, to make them up an ocean.

These considerations may make you a great prince, as your father is now a low one; and your state may be so much the more established, as mine hath been shaken. For subjects have learnt (we dare say) that victories over their princes are but triumphs over themselves; and so, will be more unwilling to hearken to changes hereafter.

The English nation are a sober people; however at present under some infatuation. We know not but this may be the last time we may speak to you or the world publicly. We are sensible into what hands we are

[1] It was his undeserved favouritism to Buckingham that commenced his road to ruin.

fallen; and yet we bless God we have those inward refreshments, that the malice of our enemies cannot disturb. We have learnt to own ourself by retiring into ourself, and therefore can the better digest what befalls us; not doubting but God can restrain our enemies' malice, and turn their fierceness unto his praise.

To conclude, if God give you success, use it humbly and far from revenge. If He restore you to your right upon hard conditions, whatever you promise, keep. Those men which have forced laws which they were bound to observe, will find their triumphs full of troubles. Do not think any thing in this world worth obtaining by foul and unjust means. You are the son of our love; and, as we direct you to what we have recommended to you; so we assure you, we do not more affectionately pray for you (to whom we are a natural parent) than we do, that the ancient glory and renown of this nation be not buried in irreligion and fanatic humour: and that all our subjects (to whom we are a political parent) may have such sober thoughts as to seek their peace in the orthodox profession of the Christian religion, as it was established, since the Reformation in this kingdom, and not in new revelations; and that the ancient laws, with the interpretation according to the known practices, may once again be a hedge about them; that you may in due time govern, and they be governed, as in the fear of the Lord.

C. R.

The commissioners are gone; the corn is now in the ground; we expect the harvest. If the fruit be peace,

we hope the God of peace will, in time, reduce all to truth and order again: which that He may do, is the prayer of

C. R.

Newport, November 29, 1648.

Charles I. to his subjects.[1]

December, 1648.

When large pretences prove but the shadows of weak performances, then the greatest labours produce the smallest effects; and when a period is put to a work of great concernment, all men's ears do, as it were, hunger till they are satisfied in their expectations.

Hath not this distracted nation groaned a long time under the burden of tyranny and oppression? And hath not all the blood that hath been spilt these seven years been cast upon my head, who am the greatest sufferer, though the least guilty?

And was it not requisite to endeavour the stopping of that flux, which, if not stopt, will bring an absolute destruction to this nation? And what more speedy way was there to consummate these distractions than by a personal treaty being agreed upon by my two houses of parliament, and condescended[2] to by me?

And I might declare, that I conceive it had been the best physic, had not the operation been hindered by the interposition of this imperious army, who were so

[1] Sanderson's Life of Charles I., p. 1101. The King was now a prisoner in Hurst Castle, opposite the Isle of Wight, and built on a solitary rock, from which escape was all but impossible.

[2] Agreed.

audacious as to stile me in their unparalleled remonstrance, their capital enemy; but let the world judge, whether mine endeavours have not been attended with reality in this late treaty, and whether I was not as ready to grant, as they were to ask; and yet all this is not satisfaction to them that pursue their own ambitious ends more than the welfare of a miserable land. Were not the dying hearts of my poor distressed people much revived with the hopes of a happiness from this treaty? And how suddenly are they frustrated in their expectations?

Have not I formerly been condemned for yielding too little to my two houses of parliament; and shall I now be condemned for yielding too much?

Have I not formerly been imprisoned for making war, and shall I now be condemned for making peace?

Have I not formerly ruled like a king, and shall I now be ruled like a slave?

Have I not formerly enjoyed the society of my dear wife and children in peace and quietness, and shall I now neither enjoy them, nor peace?

Have not my subjects formerly obeyed me, and shall I now be obedient to my subjects?

Have I not been condemned for evil councillors, and shall I now be condemned for having no counsel but God? These are unutterable miseries, that the more I endeavour for peace, the less my endeavours are respected; and how shall I know hereafter what to grant, when yourselves know not what to ask? I refer it to your consciences, whether I have not satisfied your desires in every particular since this treaty. If you find I

have not, then let me bear the burden of the fault; but if I have given you ample satisfaction (as I am sure I have) then you are bound to vindicate me from the fury of those whose thoughts are filled with blood; though they pretend zeal, yet they are but wolves in sheep's clothing.

I must further declare, that I conceive there is nothing can more obstruct the long hoped-for peace of this nation, than the illegal proceedings of them that presume from servants to become masters, and labour to bring in democracy, and to abolish monarchy.

Needs must the total alteration of fundamentals be not only destructive to others, but in conclusion to themselves; for they that endeavour to rule by the sword shall at last fall by it; for faction is the mother of ruin, and it is the humour of those who are of this weather-cock-like disposition to love nothing but mutabilities; neither will that please them, but only *pro tempore*, for the too much variety doth but confound the senses, and makes them still hate one folly, and fall in love with another.

Time is the best cure for faction; for it will at length (like a spreading leprosy) infect the whole body of the kingdom, and make it so odious, that at last they will hate themselves for love of that, and, like the fish, for love of the bait, be catcht with the hook.

I once more declare to all my loving subjects, and God knows whether or no this may be my last, that I have earnestly laboured for peace, and that my thoughts were sincere and absolute, without any sinister ends,

and there was nothing left undone by me, that my conscience would permit me to do. And I call God to witness that I do firmly conceive that the interposition of the army (that cloud of malice) hath altogether eclipsed the glory of that peace which began again to shine in this land.

And let the world judge whether it be expedient for an army to contradict the votes of a kingdom, endeavouring, by pretending for laws and liberties, to subvert both. Such actions as these must produce strange consequences, and set open the floodgates of ruin to overflow this kingdom in a moment.

Had this treaty been only mine own seeking, then they might have had fairer pretences to have stopped the course of it; but I, being importuned by my two houses, and they by most part of the kingdom, could not but with a great deal of alacrity concur with them in their desires, for the performance of so commodious a work; and I hope by this time that the hearts and eyes of my people are opened so much that they plainly discover who are the underminers of this treaty.

For mine own part, I here protest, before the face of Heaven, that mine own afflictions (though they need no addition) afflict me not so much as my people's sufferings: for I know what to trust to already, and they know not. God comfort both them and me, and proportion our patience to our sufferings!

And when the malice of mine enemies is spun out to the smallest thread, let them know that I will, by the grace of God, be as contented to suffer, as they are active

to advance my sufferings; and mine own soul tells me that the time will come when the very clouds shall drop down vengeance upon the heads of those that barricade themselves against the proceedings of peace; for if God hath proclaimed a blessing to the peace-makers, needs must the peace-breakers draw down curses upon their heads.

I thank my God I have armed myself against their fury: and now let the arrows of their envy fly at me: I have a breast to receive them, and a heart possest with patience to sustain them, for God is my rock and my shield, therefore I will not fear what man can do unto me. I will expect the worst, and, if anything happen beyond my expectation, I will give God the glory, for vain is the help of man.

Charles's last advice to his Son.[1]

Son,

If these papers, with some others, wherein I have set down the private reflections of my conscience, and my most impartial thoughts, touching the chief passages which have been most remarkable, or disputed in my late troubles, come to your hands, to whom they are chiefly designed, they may be so far useful to you, as to state your judgment aright in what hath passed; whereof a pious use is the best can be made; and they may also give you some directions how to remedy the present dis-

[1] From Saunderson's "Compleat History of the Life and Raigne of King Charles, from his cradle to his grave." Published in 1658.

tempers, and prevent (if God will) the like for time to come.

It is some kind of deceiving and lessening the injury of my long restraint, when I find my leisure and solitude have produced something worthy of myself, and useful to you; that neither you, nor any other, may hereafter measure my cause by the success, nor my judgment of things by my misfortunes, which I count the greater by far, because they have so far lighted upon you and some others whom I have most cause to love as well as myself, and of whose unmerited sufferings I have a greater sense than of my own.

But this advantage of wisdom you have above most princes; that you have begun, and now spent some years of discretion in the experience of troubles, and exercise of patience, wherein piety and all virtues, both moral and political, are commonly better planted to a thriving, as trees set in winter, than in warmth and serenity of times, or amidst those delights which usually attend princes' courts in times of peace and plenty, which are prone either to root up all plants of true virtue and honour, or to be contented only with some leaves and withering formalities of them, without any real fruits, such as tend to the public good, for which princes should always remember they are born, and by Providence designed.

The evidence of which different education the Holy Writ affords us in the contemplation of David and Rehoboam, the one prepared by many afflictions for a flourishing kingdom, the other softened by the un-

paralleled prosperity of Solomon's court; and so corrupted to the great diminution, both for peace, honour, and kingdom, by those flatteries, which are as inseparable from prosperous princes, as flies are from fruit in summer, whom adversity, like cold weather, drives away.

I had rather you should be Charles *le bon*, than *le grand*, good, than great; I hope God hath designed you to be both; having so early put you into that exercise of His graces and gifts bestowed upon you, which may best weed out all vicious inclinations, and dispose you to those princely endowments and employments, which will most gain the love, and intend the welfare of those over whom God shall place you.

With God, I would have you begin and end, who is King of Kings, the sovereign disposer of the kingdoms of the world, who pulleth down one and setteth up another.

The best government and highest sovereignty you can attain to is to be subject to Him, that the sceptre of his word and spirit may rule in your heart.

The true glory of princes consists in advancing God's glory, in the maintenance of true religion and the church's good; also in the dispensation of civil power, with justice and honour to the public peace.

Piety will make you prosperous, at least it will keep you from becoming miserable; nor is he much a loser that loseth all, yet saveth his own soul at last.

To which centre of true happiness, God (I trust) hath and will graciously direct all these black lines of affliction which he hath been pleased to draw on me, and by

which he hath (I hope) drawn me nearer to himself. You have already tasted of that cup whereof I have liberally drunk; which I look upon as God's physic, having that in healthfulness which it wants in pleasure.

Above all, I would have you, as I hope you are already, well grounded and settled in your religion, the best profession of which I have ever esteemed that of the Church of England, in which you have been educated; yet I would have your own judgment and reason now sealed to that sacred bond which education hath written, that it may be judiciously your own religion, and not other men's custom or tradition, which you profess.

In this I charge you to persevere, as coming nearest to God's word for doctrine, and to the primitive examples for government, with some little amendment which I have otherwhere expressed, and often offered, though in vain. Your fixation in matters of religion will not be more necessary for your soul's than your kingdom's peace, when God shall bring you to them.

For I have observed, that the devil of rebellion doth commonly turn himself into an angel of reformation; and the old serpent can pretend new lights, when some men's consciences accuse them for sedition and faction, they stop its mouth with the name and noise of religion; when piety pleads for peace and patience, they cry out zeal.

So that, unless in this point you be well settled, you shall never want temptations to destroy you and yours, under pretension of reforming matters of religion; for that seems even to the worst of men, as the best and most auspicious beginning of their worst designs.

Where, besides the novelty which is taken enough with the vulgar, every one hath an affectation, by seeming forward to an outward reformation of religion, to be thought zealous; hoping to cover those irreligious deformities whereto they are conscious, by a severity of censuring other men's opinions or actions.

Take heed of abetting any factions, or applying to any public discriminations in matters of religion, contrary to what is in your judgment and the churches well settled; your partial adhering as head to any one side gains you not so great advantages in some men's hearts (who are prone to be of their king's religion) as it loseth you in others; who think themselves and their profession first despised, then persecuted by you; take such a course as may either with calmness and charity quite remove the seeming differences and offences by impartiality, or so order affairs in point of power that you shall not need to fear or flatter any faction.

For, if ever you stand in need of them, or must stand to their courtesy, you are undone. The serpent will devour the dove; you may never expect less of loyalty, justice, or humanity than from those who engage in religious rebellion; their interest is always made God's, under the colours of piety, ambitious policies march, not only with greatest security, but applause as to the populacy; you may hear from them Jacob's voice, but you shall feel they have Esau's hands.

Nothing seemed less considerable than the Presbyterian faction in England for many years, so compliant they were to public order; nor, indeed, was their party great

either in church or state as to men's judgments; but as soon as discontents drove men into sidings, as ill humours fall to the disaffected part, which causes inflammations, so did all at first who affected any novelties adhere to that side, as the most remarkable and specious note of difference (then) in point of religion.

All the lesser factions at first were officious servants to Presbytery, their great master, till time and military success, discovering to each their peculiar advantages, invited them to part stakes; and leaving the joint stock of uniform religion, they pretended each to drive for their party the trade of profits and preferments to the breaking and undoing not only of the church and state, but even of Presbytery itself, which seemed and hoped at first to have engrossed all.

Let nothing seem little or despicable to you in matters which concern religion and the church's peace, so as to neglect a speedy reforming and effectually suppressing errors and schisms; what seem at first but as a hand-breadth, by seditious spirits, as by strong winds, are soon made to cover and darken the whole heaven.

When you have done justice to God, your own soul and his church in the profession and preservation both of truth and unity in religion, the next main hinge on which your prosperity will depend and move, is that of civil justice, wherein the settled laws of these kingdoms, to which you are rightly heir, are the most excellent rules you can govern by, which by an admirable temperament give very much to subjects industry, liberty, and happiness; and yet reserve enough to the majesty and preroga-

tive of any king who owns his people as subjects, not as slaves, whose subjection, as it preserves their property, peace, and safety, so it will never diminish your rights, nor their ingenious liberties; which consist in the enjoyment of the fruits of their industry and the benefit of those laws to which themselves have consented.

Never charge your head with such a crown as shall, by its heaviness, oppress the whole body, the weakness of whose parts cannot return anything of strength, honour, or safety to the head, but a necessary debilitation and ruin.

Your prerogative is best showed and exercised in remitting rather than exacting the rigour of the laws; there being nothing worse than legal tyranny.

In these two points the preservation of established religion and laws, I may (without vanity) turn the reproach of my sufferings, as to the world's censure, into the honour of a kind of martyrdom, as to the testimony of my own conscience; the troubles of my kingdoms, having nothing else to object against me but this, that I prefer religion and laws established before those alterations they propounded.

And so indeed I do, and ever shall, till I am convinced by better arguments than what hitherto have been chiefly used towards me—tumults, armies, and prisons.

I cannot yet learn that lesson, nor I hope ever will you, that it is safe for a king to gratify any faction with the perturbation of the laws, in which is wrapt up the public interest and the good of the community.

How God will deal with me, as to the removal of these

pressures and indignities, which his justice, by the very unjust hands of some of my subjects, hath been pleased to lay upon me I cannot tell; nor am I much solicitous what wrong I suffer from men, while I retain in my soul what I believe is right before God.

I have offered all for reformation and safety that in reason, honour, and conscience I can, reserving only what I cannot consent unto without an irreparable injury to my own soul, the church, and my people, and you also as the next and undoubted heir of my kingdoms.

To which, if the Divine Providence, to whom no difficulties are insuperable, shall in his due time, after my decease, bring you, as I hope he will, my counsel and charge to you is, that you seriously consider the former real or objected miscarriages which might occasion my troubles, that you may avoid them.

Never repose so much upon any man's single counsel, fidelity, and discretion, in managing affairs of the first magnitude (that is, matters of religion and justice), as to create in yourself or others a diffidence of your own judgment, which is likely to be always more constant and impartial to the interests of your crown and kingdom than any man's.

Next beware of exasperating any factions by the crossness and asperity of some men's passions, humours, or private opinions employed by you, grounded only upon the differences in lesser matters, which are but the skirts and suburbs of religion.

Wherein a charitable connivance and Christian toleration often dissipates their strength, whom rougher oppo-

sition fortifies, and puts the despised and oppressed party into such combinations as may most enable them to get a full revenge on those they count their persecutors, who are commonly assisted by that vulgar commiseration which attends all that are said to suffer under the notion of religion.

Provided the differences amount not to an insolent opposition of laws and government, or religion established as to the essentials of them; such motions and minings are intolerable.

Always keep up solid piety, and those fundamental truths which mend both hearts and lives of men with impartial favour and justice.

Take heed that outward circumstances and formalities of religion devour not all, or the best encouragements of learning, industry, and piety; but with an equal eye and impartial hand distribute favours and rewards to all men, as you find them for their real goodness both in abilities and fidelity worthy and capable of them.

This will be sure to gain you the hearts of the best and the most, too; who, though they be not good themselves, yet are glad to see the severer ways of virtue at any time sweetened by temporal rewards.

I have, you see, conflicted with different and opposite factions (for so I must needs call and count all those that act not in any conformity to the laws established in church and state); no sooner have they by force subdued what they counted their common enemy (that is all those that adhered to the laws and to me), and are secured from that fear, but they are divided to so high a rivalry as sets

them more at defiance against each other than against their first antagonist.

Time will dissipate all factions, when once the rough horns of private men's covetous and ambitious designs shall discover themselves; which were at first wrapt up and hidden under the soft and smooth pretensions of religion, reformation, and liberty: as the wolf is not less cruel, so he will be more justly hated, when he shall appear no better than a wolf under sheep's clothing.

But as for the seduced train of the vulgar, who, in their simplicity, follow those disguises, my charge and counsel to you is, that as you need no palliations for any designs (as other men), so you study really to exceed (in true and constant demonstrations of goodness, piety, and virtue towards the people) even all those men, that make the greatest noise and ostentation of religion; so you shall neither fear any detection (as they do, who have but the face and mask of goodness), nor shall you frustrate the just expectations of your people, who cannot in reason promise themselves so much good from any subject's novelties as from the virtuous constancy of their king.

When these mountains of congealed factions shall, by the sunshine of God's mercy and the splendour of your virtues, be thawed and dissipated, and the abused vulgar shall have learned that none are greater oppressors of their estates, liberties, and consciences than those men, that entitle themselves the patrons and vindicators of them, only to usurp power over them; let, then, no passion betray you to any study of revenge upon those whose

own sin and folly will sufficiently punish them in due time. But as soon as the forked arrow of factious emulations is drawn out, use all princely arts and clemency to heal the wounds that the smart of the cure may not equal the anguish of the hurt.

I have offered acts of indemnity and oblivion, to so great a latitude, as may include all, that can but suspect themselves to be any way obnoxious to the laws, and which might serve to exclude all future jealousies and insecurities.

I would have you always propense to the same way, whenere it shall be desired and accepted, let it be granted, not only as an act of state policy and necessity, but of Christian charity and choice.

It is all I have now left me, a power to forgive those that have deprived me of all; and I thank God I have a heart to do it, and joy as much in this grace, which God hath given me, as in all my former enjoyments; for this is a greater argument of God's love to me than any prosperity can be. Be confident (as I am) that the most of all sides, who have done amiss, have done so, not out of malice, but misinformation, or misapprehension of things.

None will be more loyal and faithful to me and you, than those subjects, who, sensible of their errors and our injuries, will feel, in their own souls, most vehement motives to repentance, and earnest desires to make some reparations for their former defects.

As your quality sets you beyond any duel with any subject, so the nobleness of your mind must raise you

above the meditating any revenge, or executing your anger upon the many.

The more conscious you shall be to your own merits upon your people, the more prone you will be to expect all love and loyalty from them, and to inflict no punishment upon them for former miscarriages; you will have more inward complacency in pardoning one, than in punishing a thousand.

This I write to you, not despairing of God's mercy, and my subjects' affections towards you, both which I hope you will study to deserve; yet we cannot merit of God but by his own mercy.

If God shall see fit to restore me, and you after me, to those enjoyments which the laws have assigned to us, and no subjects, without an high degree of guilt and sin can divest us of; then may I have better opportunity when I shall be so happy to see you in peace, to let you more fully understand the things that belong to God's glory, your own honour, and the kingdom's peace.

But if you never see my face again, and God will have me buried in such a barbarous imprisonment and obscurity (which the perfecting some men's designs requires) wherein few hearts that love me are permitted to exchange a word or a look with me, I do require and entreat you as your father and your king, that you never suffer your heart to receive the least check against or disaffection from the true religion established in the Church of England.

I tell you I have tried it, and, after much search and many disputes, have concluded it to be the best in the

world, not only in the community, as Christian, but also in the special notion, as reformed, keeping the middle way between the pomp of superstitious tyranny, and the meanness of fantastic anarchy.

Not but that (the draught being excellent as to the main, both for doctrine and government, in the Church of England) some lines, as in very good figures, may haply need some sweetening, or polishing, which might here have easily been done by a safe and gentle hand, if some men's precipitancy had not violently demanded such rude alterations, as would have quite destroyed all the beauty and proportions of the whole.

The scandal of the late troubles, which some may object and urge to you against the Protestant religion established in England, is easily answered to them, or your own thoughts in this, that scarce any one who hath been a beginner, or an active prosecutor of this late war against the Church, the laws, and me, either was or is a true lover, embracer, or practiser of the Protestant religion, established in England, which neither gives such rules, nor ever before set such examples.

'Tis true, some heretofore had the boldness to present threatening petitions to their princes and Parliaments, which others of the same faction (but of worse spirits) have now put in execution; but let not counterfeit and disorderly zeal abate your value and esteem of true piety; both of them are to be known by their fruits; the sweetness of the vine and fig-tree is not to be despised, though the brambles and thorns should pretend to bear figs and grapes, thereby to rule over the trees.

Nor would I have you to entertain any aversion or dislike of Parliaments, which, in their right constitution with freedom and honour, will never hinder or diminish your greatness, but will rather be an interchanging of love, loyalty, and confidence, between a prince and his people.

Nor would the events of this black Parliament have been other than such (however much biassed by factions in the elections) if it had been preserved from the insolencies of popular dictates, and tumultuary impressions; the sad effects of which will no doubt make all Parliaments after this more cautious to preserve that freedom and honour which belongs to such assemblies, (when once they have fully shaken off this yoke of vulgar encroachment) since the public interest consists in the mutual and common good both of prince and people.

Nothing can be more happy for all than, in fair, grave, and honourable ways, to contribute their counsels in common, enacting all things by public consent, without tyranny or tumults. We must not starve ourselves, because some have surfeited of wholesome food.

And if neither I nor you be ever restored to our right, but God, in his severest justice, will punish my subjects with continuance in their sin, and suffer them to be deluded with the prosperity of their wickedness, I hope God will give me and you that grace which will teach and enable us to want, as well as to wear a crown, which is not worth taking up, or enjoying upon sordid, dishonourable, and irreligious terms.

Keep you to true principles of piety, virtue, and honour; you shall never want a kingdom.

A principal point of your honour will consist in your deferring all respect, love, and protection to your mother, my wife, who hath many ways deserved well of me, and chiefly in this, that having been a means to bless me with so many hopeful children, (all which, with their mother, I recommend to your love and care) she hath been content with incomparable magnanimity and patience to suffer both for and with me and you.

My prayer to God Almighty is (whatever becomes of me, who am, I thank God, wrapt up and fortified in my own innocency, and his grace) that he would be pleased to make you an anchor, or harbour rather, to these tossed and weather-beaten kingdoms; a repairer, by your wisdom, justice, piety, valour, of what the folly and wickedness of some men have so far ruined, as to leave nothing entire in Church or State, to the crown, the nobility, the clergy, or the Commons, either as to laws, liberties, estates, order, honour, conscience, or lives.

When they have destroyed me (for I know not how far God may permit the malice and cruelty of my enemies to proceed, and such apprehensions some men's words and actions have already given me) as I doubt not but my blood will cry aloud for vengeance to Heaven; so I beseech God not to pour out his wrath upon the generality of the people who have either deserted me, or engaged against me, through the artifice and hypocrisy of their leaders, whose inward horror will be their

first tormentor, nor will they escape exemplary judgments.

For those that loved me, I pray God they may have no miss of me when I am gone; so much I wish and hope that all good subjects may be satisfied with the blessings of your presence and virtues.

For those that repent of any defects in their duty toward me, as I freely forgive them in the word of a Christian king, so I believe you will find them truly zealous to repay, with interest, that loyalty and love to you which was due to me.

In sum, what good I intended do you perform, when God shall give you power: much good I have offered, more I purposed to church and state, if times had been capable of it.

The deception will soon vanish, and the vizards will fall off apace; this mask of religion on the face of rebellion (for so it now plainly appears since my restraint and cruel usage, that they fought not for me, as was pretended) will not long serve to hide some men's deformities.

Happy times, I hope, attend you, wherein your subjects, by their miseries, will have learned that religion to their God, and loyalty to their king, cannot be parted without both their sin and their infelicity.

I pray God bless you and establish your kingdoms in righteousness, your soul in true religion, and your honour in the love of God and your people.

And if God will have disloyalty perfected by my destruction, let my memory ever, with my name, live in

you; as of your father, that loves you, and once a king of three flourishing kingdoms; whom God thought fit to honour, not only with the sceptre and government of them, but also with the suffering many indignities and an untimely death for them; while I studied to preserve the rights of the church, the power of the laws, the honour of my crown, the privilege of parliaments, the liberties of my people and my own conscience, which, I thank God, is dearer to me than a thousand kingdoms.

I know God can — I hope he will — restore me to my rights. I cannot despair, either of his mercy, or my people's love and pity.

At worst, I trust I shall but go before you to a better kingdom, which God hath prepared for me, and me for it, through my Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose mercy I commend you, and all mine.

Farewell, till we meet, if not on earth, yet in heaven.[1]

[1] This affecting letter of the unfortunate monarch was, with his blessing to his son, entrusted to the Bishop of London, but was not delivered to the Prince until after his father's death.

END OF VOL. II.

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BY J. O. HALLIWELL, ESQ., F.R.S.

It is a circumstance not a little remarkable that, while so many works containing Letters of Eminent and Illustrious personages have been given to the world, no attempt has hitherto been made to lay before the public in a collected form those of the Kings of England, revealing as they do the thoughts, feelings, and habits, and recording the adventures and misadventures, *related by themselves*, of the Sovereigns who have reigned over this country, on the history of which these royal reliques serve to throw a very considerable light. Cicero declares that "not to know what has been transacted in past ages is always to continue a child;" and Sir John Dalrymple has remarked with equal truth that "whoever corrects the relations of history by the private *letters* of those who were the actors of the times, will learn at every step, as he advances, to distrust the prejudices of others and his own;" while Swift, with singular felicity, observes that "Nothing is so capable of giving a true account of history as *Letters* are; which describe *actions* while they are *alive* and *breathing*, whereas all *other relations* are of actions *past* and *dead*."

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Many of these epistles, it is true, were indited at a period when our language had not begun to acquire the polish and refinement which it has since attained, and are disguised in obsolete French and Latin, in such quaint phraseology and

uncouth orthography, as to be scarcely intelligible to the general reader of the present day. In this work, great pains have been taken to remove these difficulties, by modernizing the spelling, and by the addition of illustrative notes, which must render both the language and the purport of these Letters perfectly comprehensible to every capacity.

It will be seen that the contents of these volumes are of a very miscellaneous character, some of the Letters being of a political or a religious tendency, some possessing an anecdotical, personal, and domestic interest; and others again being of great historical importance; but all having strong claims to attention, as throwing more or less light upon the annals of the country. Many of them, as the references will show, have been extracted from the various Manuscript Collections in the British Museum, in Lambeth Palace, and in the Tower of London; in the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, and Dublin; in the Office of the Duchy of Cornwall; in the Archives at Guildhall; in the Rolls' Court; in the Chapter House; in the Archives at Hatfield House; in the College of Arms; in the Archives of Durham, York, and other Towns; in the Hunterian Museum, Glasgow: in the Royal Library at Paris, and elsewhere; and from a multitude of other available and authentic sources.

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